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Sept. 26, 1855.
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c. M. CLAY.

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G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

VOL. X.

WASHINGTON, D. C., THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1856.

NO. 487.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era. THE OLD QUADROON; A National Version of The Virgin Martyr

"If she must live to womanhood, oh may she never know, Uncheered by mother's happiness, the mother's depth of woe!

And may I lie within my grave before that day Pace,
When she sits, as I am sitting, with a slave-child on her "She cannot bear to know her child must be as she bath

been, Vel she sees but one deliverance from infamy and sip." The mind instinctively shrinks from it; but still it is a very serious question whether it be not our duty to encounter this pan, that our sympathies may be quickened into more active exercise."—Harriet Beecher Steves.

o more active exercise.

"And though you are unmoved to see my death,
Hercafter, when my stery shall be read,
As they were present now, the heavers shall
Say this of Dorothea, with wet cyes,
Say this of Dorothea, with wet cyes,
She lived a virgin, and a virgin dies!"
The Virgin Mortyr.

PART L "Plowers, master?" "Yes; that snowy glabe, "
Was all Asabis peat within
Its spicy cup, and stem set round
With small rose-buds, and myrtle green."
"This?—that?—oh, this magnolia, then!" "Yer, that. I did not know its name."
"No? Master is a stranger here."
"Yes; from the North last week I came."
"They say folks there are good and free?"
"Some good, some bad. How are they here?"
"Why, much the same. My master's good;
But then".— "Speak out. They cannot hear."
"What could I have to tell? But then Ver that. I did not know its name." He's .rom the North, and looks so kind; And speaking out for once might ease An poor old crazy body's mind."
"Why, what's the matter? There, don't cry.
You must be very old!" "Fourscore; But God could never let me die; For, o'er hell's coal-paved, oven-floor, Once were I in the other world,

With singeing feet, you know I should Keep going and going, just as I did When I was younger, through the wood-No matter howsoever far Apart they put us, till I found Heaven and my little Rose, and then ould hug her neck so tightly round, The angels could not pull me off,
Because they have no knives up there mong them all so pure and fair." Among them all so pure and talk."
Oh, no, they would not! Poor old soul,
Your turban's full of whimsies! Come,

"Oh, master, no! My master's good

Pve all I want. Put up your purse. I'm bad, as..! trouble you. They say That kindness always makes us worse My home? Ah, that was long ago-A lovely land, and far from here, So lovely that the mountains crowd, And o'er each other's shoulders peer, Forever, far as eye can see, All straining for a tip-toe peep Of grassy plains, and sporting swains, And merry rills that glance and leap, And cabins snug and stately halls. In sleep I still those mounts behold— The near ones green and great, the far Mere sunset films of cloud and gold. Ah, there we led a morry life, Without a trouble or a care.
I sang and danced the livelong day,
And decked and twined my mistress' While at my kitten tricks she laughed, Till oft, she said, I made her ache; And often, as she bade me bring, She bade me share; her fruits and cake. She made for me a new pink gown, And, on the day I was fifteen, She let me give a birthday feast, e frisked and spun in all our best. The very trees seemed dancing round The sun went dancing down the west, And on his threshold up and down. Till came the moon and turned him out, And danced with all her stars o'erhead,

For joy to see our merry rout. The fire-flies scarce their lauterns lit.

While her grand golden lamp shone down
On faces dark and kerchiefs bright. They said I was the finest girl In all the State, in those old days, For all I am so withered now; And I was vain and spoiled with praise; And so I let the other lads Come round and beg and pray, their fill, And scarce would give a single turn
To any one but winsome Will.
(He used to be my little nurse, And after, when my feet were tired, And trught me how to sing and talk.) I knew he liked me more than most.
I knew I liked him most of all.
'I want to stop for treath,' he said. Well, Willy, what?
Why, don't you know? You know,' said he, 'To marry you now. Think I could? I told him I would run and see. I slid behind my mistress's chair, And whispered, and she gave consent We did not care for dancing more, He to the quarter, to the hall I turned, but chanced to turn my head, And saw him o'er his shoulder watch, And lag and stumble as he went,

To see me to the threshold safe, Then wave farewell, in full content, As in I stepped,
Young master tact me in the door,
And stopped and gazed. I shrank from him,
As I had zever shrunk before.
He seized my arm. His eye glowed red. He seath was recking hot with wine.
He promised me rich silks and rings,
His mother had none half so fine;
Ald then ""You yielded! Death and shame Oh, womanhood "— "No; not se soon; But, when I weeping broke away, He bade them lash me to the bone. They made me scream my voice away, Then mean till all my breath was gore, ance mean till all my breath was gove, Bett not the whip. It rose and fell, The endless strokes went on and on, On through the skin, on through the flesh, On steadily through nerve and vein; Bett not, as I have foit them since, Coiled round my heart, or cut my brain. Loud not speak to tell them so, but thought that nothing could be worse; Because as yet I had not tried To be a about an endless gaves. r about an endless curse. Why sid they take me gasping down?
Oh, had I died, or never been!
I was so wicked, ignorant,
And foolish, and but just fifteen!"

PART II. When those rare generous souls He sees,
Who in His service dare
The west that flesh can do to face,
Or, loyal still, to bear,
Unto the rescue flies the Lord,
And the service flies the lord,

onto the rescue flies the Lord,
And thraus their foos aside,
or lets them tests the glorious cup
Quaffed by the Crucified,
Aut favored then, and bears them back
Thice blest through conquered woes,
To reign with Him; and even so
It was with Hitle Rose.
But mean and craven spirits, when
They tremble, cringe, and shrink,
And asbels torn, unworthy proved

How dures a soul to dive

How it can rise alive!

I think they bound and prisoned me
At first; for I was wild.
The next I know, I held upon
My breast a little child—
A little lovely nestling girl!
I had not dared to pruy,
Till then, that God would pity me,
And take my guilt away,
For fear the angels round the throne
Would hear me call His name,
And look in pry down to see
Whe it such torment came,
Then hide their quick affrighted eyes
From me and from my shame.
But when I saw her little face,
It seemed to charm away

But when I saw her little face;
It seemed to charm away
In part the thoughts I had before;
For her I had to pray;
And when, seen quiet, I was left
Alone, unbound, at last,
I crawled up on my knees, while in
My arms I held her fast;
I wrapped snyself from head to fool—
My guilty cheek and brow
Within a covering close—and dared
To plead for her; for now—
She was so good and beautiful—
They all would crowd to see
And smile on her, I thought, and none
But Jesus notice me.

And I thought the blessings showered on her Fell scattering on me, too,

From the lily's brimming dropping cup, As the base dust tastes the dew.

"Oh, God! poor lily, opening fair Upon a mildewed stem!
A little child's white silver soul! So fine and frail the gem, That but a breath could tarnish it! Its casket should have been A sacred home and ho'y heart; And how should hands unclear As mine were keep and carry it, Without a spot or stain, Safe through the wicked world and back, All bright to heaven again? I think as, when a fruit tree dies,
Its grafts, the country o'er,
Are struck with dwindling death, howe'er

They throve and grew before. On children of the dead in sin, Sin's blight is apt to fall; Sin's bight is apt to fair,
And that their crimes are visited.

But God is over all!
And I knew her father was not holy—
Hush! I've not told his name!
They bade me not. What's done is done.

What use to chide and blame? And he was young, and crazed with wine Boys will be boys: and then, Oh, master, things are so much worse.
In women than in men!
And he was sorry afterward,

And made Will marry me.
Poor lad! he never smiled again, But was not harsh to me.
I hid my baby when I could.

The control for the power of the control for t

WASHINGTON, D. C., THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1856.

We provided the proposal part of the proposal part that St. Louis should derive all the advantage growing out of the false and unnatural position we have been made to occupy, mainly by her overshadowing influence over us?

L. A. P.

PROPAGANDISM IN OREGON.

LEBRION MARKON CO. O. T.

LEBRION MARKON CO. O. T.

triumph; and they are determined it shall not be that black power whose champion boasted that he would yet call his slave-roll on Bunker's Hill. They will not be hoodwinked by those demagogues who seek to divert them from the only question of moment now before the American people, by bringing before them, as all absorbing topics, Know Nothingism, war with Europe, &c.; for they know full well that these secret cabals, these midnight juntas, exist but in name, and that none but fools or knaves would think of fomenting disturbances between England and the United States.

RATES OF ADVERTISING.

Ten cents a line for the first insection, five cents a line for each subsequent one. Ten words constitute a line. Fayment in advance is invariably required.

Money may be forwarded, by mail, at my risk. Notes on Eastern banks preferred. Large amounts may be remitted in drafts or certificates of deposit.

Subscribers withing their papers changed, will give the name of the post office changed from, as well as the post office they wish it hereafter sent to.

All communications to the Era, whether on business of the paper or for publication, rhould be addressed to

G. BAILEY, Washington, D. G.

Fig. 2 and All Different Control of the Demonstrate of the Demonstrate

should onlysubscribe, and not paytheir subscription until they receive from the locality where the proposed house is to be built, testimonials from responsible citizens that such house is to go up, and then keep an exact account of all that it is subscribed and donated in each locality, and report the screen to the building committee.

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ALTHALA

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ANOW NOTHINGS IN INDIANA

**VALPARAISO, PORTER CO., IND., April 7, 1856.*

I voted with the old Whip party till 1852. When they joined with the Democratic party in concluded the party had left me, and I would not be ledic responsible to the party had left me, and I would not be held responsible for large appropriation now.

The course pursued by you in regard to the farm on the proposition of the proposition of the head the party had left me, and I would not be held responsible for large appropriations—Congress had made them sometimes in other had been granizations of Indiana have very much weak-med the Rapublican party. I believe that near-in light and the controlled Congress pretty generally, and the Anti-Slavery Know Nothings of Indiana are Anti-Slavery know Nothings of them now wish they had never belonged to the that Order. I regard it as a scheme of So catheren et st., all the Anti-Slavery know Nothings will mine with the Republican party. I am firmly of the opinion, that had it not been for Know Nothings of granizations, Indiana would have given a majority of its votes (at the last fall leads on the Republicans). In the Remublicans.

legislate for the Territories without restrictions far as the subject of Slavery was concerned and absolutely to reject or admit new States cauch terms and for such reasons as to Congre ight seem proper.

Mr. Maxwell, of Florida, then obtained the

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floor, when the Committee rose.

And then, at three o'clock, the House ad

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Office, No. 501 Seventh street, between D and one square south of City Post Office. THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1856.

THE NATIONAL ERA FOR THE CAMPAIGN. Extension of Time.

We propose to issue the National Era for the Campaign, from the 1st of May, instant, to the 1st of January, inclusive, comprising thirty-six numbers of the Era, covering the whole period turns, for \$1 a copy, in clabs of five or more.

The Poem on our first page will attract ion. It will be continued through two more numbers more of the Era.

Unfortunately, part fourth of " What i Costs to Know a Countess," was lost; and, the writer not having time to prepare another copy for this week, it will not appear till next week

MRS. EMILY P. LESDERNIER, a lady of posi tion in the literary circles of the North, and a highly successful elecutionist, proposes giving a public reading in Washington, on Monday, May 5th. Mrs. Lesdernier is recommended to the people of Washington by the press of the North and by the commendations of numbers of the most intelligent and influential ladies and gentlemen of New York and Boston. We doubt not that she will be warmly welcomed and highly appreciated by the people of this

THE ELECTION BILL FOR THE DISTRICT.

Last Friday, the Senate passed a bill relating to Elections in the District of Columbia-the same as that agreed upon by the Committee of the House, but not yet reported. It propose no change of the existing law defining the qualification of voters, but regulates the duties of Commissioners, prescribes penalties for neg-lect of duty, and provides for additional pretended to correct existing evils, to secure the ceptionable. As our annual election will take the House will pass the bill without delay. It is a fair and just measure, and we do hope that every Anti-Nebraska member will resist ed the right and duty of Congress to prohibit any attempt to mix it up with general politics, Slavery in all those Territories. or with any of the questions in controversy be tween parties. The are some questions which concern us in the District alone, and this is one of them. Let it be decided on its merits. apart from extraneous considerations.

RADICAL ABOLITION CONVENTION.

Gerrit Smith and a considerable number the Constitution of the United States, the Fed-Suracuse, New York, Wednesday, the 28th of next May, "for the purpose of nominating men, for President and Vice President of the United States, who have the ability, the integrity, and the courage, to assert their principles, and who will wield their official powers for the deliverance of every American slave, for the deliverance of every American slaveholder, and the salvation of the whole country."

THE SCHEME WON'T WORK .- It is stated THE SCHEME WON'T WORK.—It is stated as an item of interest, that Col. Fremont dined at Dr. Bailey's, on Saturday last, with Giddings, Sumner, Banks, Tappan of New Hampshire, &c.—Worcester Daily Spy, 5th inst.

This is copied into the Wisconsin Free Dem oceat, with comments implying that we are connected with the movement for bringing forward Col Fremont as a candidate for the Presidency Certainly it would be no discredit to give a din. ner to the gentlemen named, or any of them, but, it so happens that said correspondent is entirely mistaken. Furthermore-we are connected with no movement in Washington or elsewhere for bringing forward any man as a candidate for the Presidency.

Mr. BENTON has been nominated for Governo of Missouri by the Benton Democracy of that State, T. Peck the Atchison candidate, and R. C. Ewing, the Know Nothing. Two sets of delegates to the Cincinnati Convention have tion that first awakened the suspicions of vigil also been chosen.

THE PENNSYLVANIA LEGISLATURE adjourned

MAINE LIQUOR LAW IN MASSACHUSETTS. On the 22d April, in the Senate of Massachu setts, majority and minority reports on the Maine Liquor Law being under consideration the whole subject was indefinitely postpor by a nearly unanimous vote.

REPUCLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE. The Anti-Nebraska members of Congress have appointed Messrs. Collamer and Wilson of the Senate, and Messrs. Mace, Covode, Mott, Dodd, and Norton, an Executive Committee, to superintend the work of the canvass.

IMPORTANT DECISION .- Judge Nelson, of the Supreme Court, on the 21st April, delivered the opinion of the Court in the case of the State of Pennsylvania, complainant, against the Wheeling and Belmont Bridge Company, and others, dissolving the injunction granted by the Circuit Judge, overruling the motion of the complain ant for writs of assistance and attachments, and granting the motions for taxations of costs, and the process therefor.

DISRESPECT TO MR. BUCHANAN .- April 24th after a heated and personal discussion, resolu-tions tendering the use of Independence Hall to Mr. Buchanan, for the purpose of allowing him to receive his friends publicly, were de-feated in the City Councils of Philadelphia,

THE BACKBONE.—This is the title of a Republican paper for the campaign, to be issued ning Leader, Cleveland, Ohio, commencing arly in the month of May. It will be "of reble and new type," published weekly at \$1 in advance a single copy; in packages of wenty or more, at fifty cents a copy. Such a it.

ROCK ISLAND BRIDGE COMPLETED _The first assenger train of cars crossed the Mississippridge, at Rock Island, on the 22d.

MOUNT VERNON ESTATE.-John A. Wash on writes to the National Intelligencer that he was willing to sell Mount Vernon to either Virsase, the property is not now for sale.

THE PRINCIPLE TO BE ESTABLISHED.

Under the head, "Correspondence of the Era," may be found some indications of a growing apprehension among Anti-Slavery men cerning the ultimate direction of what is called the Republican movement. It is useless to shut our eyes to the fact that not a few of hose whom we have been accustomed to con sider the most earnest opponents of the Slave Power are dissatisfied and distrustful.

Their suspicions were first awakened be the proceedings of the Pittsburgh Convention The Address adopted was a good one, but the language used in defining the objects of the novement then initiated, was rather vague and ambiguous.

"We do therefore declare to the People the United States"-so runs the declara "as objects for which we unite in political ac

"1. We demand and shall attempt to see the repeal of all laws which allow the intro duction of Slavery into Territories once conse crated to Freedom, and will resist by every con crated to Freedom, and will resist by every constitutional means the existence of Slavery in any of the Territories of the United States.

12. We will support by every lawful means our brethren in Kansas in their constitutional and manly resistance to the usurped authority of their lawless invaders, and will give the full

weight of our political power in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas to the Union as a free, sovereign, and independent State.

"3. Believing that the present National Administration has shown itself to be weak and ministration has shown itself to be weak and faithless, and that its continuance in power is identified with the progress of the Slave Power to national supremacy, with the exclusion of Freedom from the Territory, and with increasing civil discord, it is a leading purpose of our organization to oppose and overthrow it." Opposition to the Administration, and sup-

are declared in terms sufficiently explicit; but the great Principle, which was waived by the North in 1850, and in the waiver of which the South in 1854 claimed to find warrant for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, we mean the Principle of Slavery-restriction by positive act of Congress, is really evaded. The first paragraph makes a show of asserting something; but whatever that may be, it is not the Principle indicated above, or, indeed, any Principle at all. The sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787, in relation to the Northwest Territory, is brief and explicit: "There shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude therein, otherwise than in punishment of crime." These few lines are plain, manly, unmistakable, effectual. The Wilmot Proviso as briefly and clearcincts for voting, and opening the polls at ly re-affirms the same Principle, in regard to seven o'clock, instead of ten. The bill is inshall be therein neither Slavery nor involunpurity of the elective franchise, and is unexcrime." With like simplicity and directness place the first Monday in June, we trust that the liberal Conventions held in the Free States pending the controversy in regard to the Territories of the United States in 1848-'50, affirm-

The question arises, Why did not the Pittsburgh Convention boldly re-affirm the same Principle, in terms equally unambiguous? "We demand and shall attempt to secure the repeal of all laws which allow the introduction of Slavery into Territories once consecrated to Freedom"-it says. What does this mean? Federal laws? or Territorial laws? "Territories Abolitionists who believe with him that, under once consecrated to Freedom!" Which are they? Kansas and Nebraska? Or, not only may be hereafter acquired. For one, we eral Judiciary has the power to abolish S'avery these, but New Mexico and Utah? "Once cannot be drawn into a fight merely on tranin the States, and ought to exercise it and are consecrated to Freedom?" We suppose, then, sient or incidental questions. Much we will opposed to the Republican Party, because it that if there be Territories of the United States | concede for the sake of uniting the People tion Radical Abolition Convention, to meet at dom, they are to be suffered to remain under a slave code, should it exist! Is this what the Convention meant?

The "repeal of all laws which allow the in roduction of Slavery?" Pray, what are they? There may be no law at all; and then Slavery says, "I will go and take possesion-what prevents?" That is just the way Slavery get foot-hold. What would the policy of your negative resolve effect in such case? You annot repeal laws that have no existence.

Again: "And will resist by every constit ional means the existence of Slavery in any of the Territories of the United States." Wonderful! "Every constitutional means?" What is constitutional? General Cass says it is not constitutional to resist it by Congressional acon-and so says the South. What says the Pittburgh Convention? Nothing at all. It lodges the issue-it refuses to assert the Principle-"Slavery prohibition by Congressional act in the Territories of the United States." Instead of this vague, meaningless declara tion, the Convention ought to have said, in

plain, bold words-"We insist upon the right of Congress prohibit Slavery by positive law in all the Territories of the United States, and upon the immediate duty of exercising this right.'

It was the vague and evasive character of these declarations of the Pittsburgh Convenant Anti-Slavery men. They saw in it a con-cession to the Northern Know Nothings; for, last Tuesday week, after having passed six hundred and seventy-one acts.

bear in mind, the characteristic feature of the Anti-Slavery platform of these men is, the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, in terms or substance—that is, if the Compromise could not be restored in form, then the territory once onsecrated by it to Freedom, should be organzed into free States. This, in general, is the sum and substance of their platform on the question of Slavery; and this, we see, was all that was really embodied in the Pittsburgh

> To these, at the time, we took no exception though, had we been at the Convention, we ould have exposed them. The Convention owever, was not called to make a platform and we were content to await the action of the Philadelphia Convention. But events have ranspired, since then, which awaken the apprehension that a similar policy may be at empted at Philadelphia.

First, we have the action of the Eventi Committee appointed by the National Republican Convention at Pittsburgh. It issues a call to the People of the United States, "who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compronise, to the policy of the present Administra tion, to the extension of Slavery into the Ter ritories, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State, and of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the Principles of Washington and Jefferson," to meet in Con-

The liberality of the call is praiseworthy, no do we object to its harmless rhetoric about the principles of Washington and Jefferson; but in multitude of words, we find no distinct tatement of the Principle on which the nex esidential contest ought to turn. Instead o the general and unmeaning phrase, "oppose to the extension of Slavery into the Territorie. the committee should have said-in fav of the prohibition of Slavery in the Territorie by act of Congress. We should take a positive and not negative, position; assert a principle

Again, the committee, doubtless with the bes intentions in the world, simply subscribes itself—
"National Committee." National Committee of what? By whom constituted? Acting by authority of whom?

Let us say, most respectfully, there is a in keeping with the character of a great politi-

These are not the only indications that have

produced dissatisfaction. The question of the but we should remember that it is a temporary question; one which has arisen within a year, and may be disposed of within a year; and one which, if disposed of simply on its own merits, without reference to the great principle of Slavery prohibition, will leave the country just where it was after the adoption of the compromises of 1850. Now, the tendency of the policy of conciliation, as it is called, so popular among our politicians, is to resolve the Repub-ican movement into a mere effort to admit Kansas, and so intent are many of our friends on this particular point of policy, that they seem ready to forego any declaration of Prinpolicy of the compromise of 1850 undisturbed, and Eden would please them no better than as the settled policy of the country. Look at Washington, if they were only sojourners there. would hardly know whether the doctrine of Slavery-prohibition by Congress is entertained by it or not. And so with expressions of opinon by prominent men who have become asso iated with the Republican movement. For example, we have read several letters of Mr. Banks, in reply to invitations to attend Republican meetings, but how studiously he omits the slightest word suggestive of a conflict with Slavery or the Slave Power! The terms are not used, while much is said about conciliation. union, power, &c. And let us not be thought cantions when we note with regret a similar mission in the letter of Col. Fremont, lately oublished in the Era, and so greatly eulogized by the New York Evening Post and the Tribune That letter shows that the sympathies of the writer are with his old friend, Governor Rob port of the admission of Kansas as a free State, inson, and with the people of Kansas, in their effort to establish a free Government, but nothing more. It states no principle, lays down no ine of policy, defines in no respect Col. Fremont's position in regard to the question of Slavery. In fact, that question is not named in the letter.

We refer to these things, not wantonly, not because we like to find fault, but for the purpose of suggesting to our friends that if they would succeed in the coming contest, they must recognise Slavery-Domination as the real Evil of the country, openly confront it, and plant themselves on a comprehensive and permanent Principle, not a temporary Question. We do not wish them to multiply is sues-to construct a platform of multitudinou planks-but we do ask them to affirm, as the basis of their action, the Principle, disgrace fully waived by the North in 1850-the Prin ciple of Slavery-Prohibition by Congress in all United States Territory. Let there be no dodging, no evasion, no clamorous declamation about Freedom in Kansas alone, no clap-trap about "opposition to the Administration," "opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise," "the principles of Washington and Jefferson." Washington and Jefferson differed on many principles-Jefferson prac ticed on some principles we by no means admire—we are opposed to the Administration chiefly, on account of its pro-slavery policy-we were opposed to the repeal of Missouri Compromise, but that is a fact accom plished-we are in favor of Freedom in Kansas—BUT, no less anxious for Freedom in Utah, New Mexico, and whatever Territory tial contest, but we will not concede the Principle of the sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787, the original Policy of the Government, the Wilmot Proviso, the Principle of Slavery-Prohibition by Congress. This was the Principle in Controversy in 1848-'50-this is the Principle in Controversy now. Let the Convention at Philadelphia resolve—

1. That Congress has the right to prohibi Slavery in all Federal Territories, and ought

to exercise it.

2. That Kansas is of right and in fact free and ought to be admitted at once as a free State:

Then, nominate men for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, who will be just as explicit and emphatic in their declarations as these resolves are-

And then, we can all work together, heart and hand. Let it dodge the great Principle, in its resolves or nominees, and we see no how any honest, clear-sighted man, who under stands the real Evil of the country, and the exigencies of the crisis, can take any special nterest in the contest. Let the Principle, we have indicated, be established and settled, as the Fundamental Law of all Territory, and Kansas is not only saved, but so are New Mexico and Utah, and the rule of the Slave Power is broken. Thenceforth, other reforms would follow naturally, easily, beneficently, ithout violence or dangerous discord.

ANOTHER PECULIAR INSTITUTION IN UTAH A Fugitive Slave Advertised There.

m the Washington Correspondence of the New Yor Evening Post. WASHINGTON, April 21, 1856.

The workings of popular sovereignty in Utah are recently shown by the introduction of Slaery and the slave trade. The Mormons of that Territory, not content with polygamy, desire to extend the application of Douglas's new gospel to its legitimate results, as may be seen by the following extract of a letter addressed to a

" ____, UTAH TERRITORY, DEAR SIR: Knowing you to be 'sound' o the Negro Question, as well as on Polygamy and as our brethren here are soon to apply fo and as our brethren here are soon to apply for admission as a State, we just send you a note to let you see we are all right on the Main Question. Judge Drummond has gone a little into the negro slave trade, as the enclosed handbill will show. Judge Kinney is also in the slave trade, as well as the principal men of the Ter-ritory. Secretary A. W. Babbitt has renewed his Mormonism, and is a loud preacher. He wants to be Senator."

The handbill referred to in the above letter

commences, in staring type, as follows—the slave Cato appears to have been "sold running:"

"Take Notice.—As I have sold my Negro Man Cato to the Hon. W. W. Drummond, of this city, and for whom I recently offered one hundred dollars reward for his delivery to me: I now take this method of informing the public that as I am now about to leave this Territory. that as I am now about to leave this Territory. I will no longer be held liable for the said re vard—the man Cato being the property of the

said Judge Drummond.

"J. A. Harkreader. "Dated at Great Salt Lake City, this 21st

These facts show the necessity he issue in the coming Presidential election-Freedom to the Territories by Act of Congress Slavery must be excluded not only from Kansas, but from all the Territories,

SOUTHERN ENIGRATION.—The Charleston Pa riot and Winnsboro' (S. C.) Register deprecate Southern emigration to Kansas. They think he South cannot compete with the North in the work of Colonization, that it is really weakened by the drain of its population, and that in the case of Kansas, slave-property would only be blaced in icopardy.

structure adua angle of signs, there are was signs. There are gas-works, there are was works—all manner of works, but good works and all, whether ornaments or necessities, tained by remorseless local lobbying. The tunate committeeman of Senate or House, n placed in jeopardy.

Messrs. Howard and SHERMAN, of the Karss

WASHINGTON.

It is popular to abuse Washington. Members of Congress from the West, with its overflowing granaries, rail against it because they cannot get board at so cheap a rate as they can at home. They forget that prices here are no higher than in Baltimore, Philadelphia, or the public service. It may even lead to the removal of the seat of Government. Why may New York. Members from the North, accustomed to the finish of New York and Boston not the Capitol try its new-fledged wings in an experimental flight?" grow melancholy over the poor accommodation of Washington hotels, which are crowded to overflowing at one season of the year, and Why not leave the immense masses of granite starved out at another. Members from all secdious structures for Governme tions growl whenever they feel indisposed, lay. ing the blame on the climate: it is too warm, its "flight" to New York, or Cine too cold, too damp, too dry, too still, or too ciple whatsoever; in fact, to leave the whole windy. The truth is, they are not at home-

the columns of the Republican press, and you | As to their ailments, we can give them a hint or two. Let them use less tobacco, drink less liquor, avoid late and heavy suppers, attend not more than one party an evening, let champagne alone, and go to bed at a decent hourn other words, be as simple in their habits here as at home, and they will be better both in health and temper. Having resided in Washngton nine years, and brought up a large family of children, we know that there is no healther city in these United States.

But, the abuse of Washington is not confine o members. The Press abroad joins in the popular clamor. Editors and letter-writers, who live in hotels or boarding-houses, write home parrowing descriptions of Washington life. And oray, whom do they find in their circles? Adpray, whom do they find in their circles? Adventurers, contractors, place-hunters, lobby men, claimants, claim agents, pleasure-seekers, clerks dependent upon a Pro-Slavery Administration with which they are expected to sympathize, and some respectable folk sojourning here for one purpose or another—but all of them, with few exceptions, from abroad. Now, it must be understood that our amiable letter—wither, when he lampoons Washington, is in for the statuary "that strikes terror in the superintendent with the buildings; Sec. 2. And be it further chacted, That the said Convention shall be composed of delegates from each Representative district within the limits of the proposed State, and that each district shall elect double the number of delegates to which it may be entitled to Representatives in the Territorial Legislature; and that, at the said election of delegates, all white male inhabitants who shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and shall have been actual residents of said Territory for the period of three months, not in the district for the period of three months, next preceding the day of elecfact abusing his own associates. It is New York, or Boston, or Cincinnati, or Richmond mported, and squatting here for a time, which he mistakes for Washington. It is to be re gretted that he has been so unfortunate in his

"O, this is a vile Pro-Slavery spot." We d ot wonder you think so, when you see around ou only a crowd of Northern doughfaces. But e have no less freedom of discussion here, and little more toleration than you can boast of in some Northern communities. Three presses on which we once printed an Anti-Slavery paper in Cincinnati, a free city, were pulled down y mobs, dragged, in face of the Sheriff, the Mayor, the Military and Civil Power, to the Ohio river, and thrown into it-and then, when the mean deed had been completed, order was estored, and a wonderful regard manifested for the preservation of property! In this nuch-abused city of Washington, some eight ears ago, a great mob, encouraged by cer ain members of Congress, attempted to destroy our press, and was on foot for three days - but, the civil authorities interposed bravely struggled to maintain order, and a ast put down the mob, and prevented the over throw of the press. And since then, a young clergyman has stood up in his place in a Wash ngton pulpit, and preached on Slavery to his ongregation, in a way which would have spli many a conservative church at the North. But, he has lost neither caste nor position-the majority of his church, while dissenting from his pit. So much for security of person and opin-

ion in this terrible spot. "But, Washington is a great borer-it is always boring the Public Treasury." H. G., of the Tribune, says:

"It has no commerce but that which minis ers to its immediate wants; no manufactures but the manufacture of claims on the Treasury; no arts but the art of boring gimlet-holes nto the public chest, and enlarging them uger-holes as rapidly as possible."

We do not see how H. G., who seems to thin ommerce a nuisance, and would have each ontinent and each State hermetically sealed gainst every other by the protective policy can find fault with Washington because it car ries on only a necessary commerce. As to the nanufacture of claims. Washington has jus othing at all to do with it, except to give poard and lodging to the manufacturers, pour ing from New York and other States; and the art of boring is pretty well monopolized by the experts from that great hive of borers. are under the impression that a New Yorker has been revelling for some years in the at job of public printing-one of the biggest auger-holes" we know anything about. The pinding, a very lucrative business, is assigned. re believe, to a citizen of Ohio-(we wish all the jobs were given to men as worthy as he!)and, we should like to know, who does the en graving, such engravings, for example, as those n the Pacific Railroad Exploration, costing nearly a quarter of a million of dollars? Was ngton is not favored with such jobs-it can not get near enough to the Treasury to bore it

The New York Times joins in the general ery, "Stop thief!" Congress, which owns ere 4,117 acres, while individual citizens own only 1,508, and in addition is the proprietor of buildings, &c., valued at fifty millions of dollars, while the real and personal property of the citizens by the last assessment-and high one it was-amounted to but twenty-five millions; after having expended more than half million of dollars in printing twenty-three housand copies of the Pacific Railroad Exploations, elegantly engraved, for the use of mem may favor, has just refused an appropriation of \$300,000 to continue the Washington Aqueduct, intended to furnish to the city an ample upply of water. The chief objection to the work, we presume, is, that it is not in the hands of some foreign contractor, but has been placed under the superintendence of Captain Meigs, an officer of the United States service Not intending, however, to discuss the question whether a proprietor, who owns more land more real and personal estate, here, than all of Washington besides, and is moreover exempted from all taxation, while the whole city besides is taxed, should take the lead in such a work, we simply call attention to the jubilant style in which the New York Times records this virtu-

ous vote of the House: "The refusal of the House of Repre to vote \$300,000 to the continuation of the Washington water works must have afforded the in sation. We have no recollection that any pre-vious attempt of the District to bore in the vicin ity of the Treasury for money has failed to bring up the cash. All manner of contrivances for eliciting appropriations have been successful employed. Public buildings have been renew on the grandest scale. Architecture of Greeco-barbaresque order disfigures the from one end to the other. Statuary that stri District Affairs, spends the session in a perpet-ual round of fites and dinner parties. In fact, the science of mendicancy, and the arts that go to beautify a town, and give value to its lots, are so profoundly studied, that the manageability of Congress is accounted for without the alightest

lifficulty. All the advantages property owners

" And be it further enacted, That Why not, pray? Why not throw one or two hundred millions of dollars into the Potomac's and marble, shaped into elegant and commo as quarries for future miners? Why not take St. Louis, where there is a remarkable scarcity of all borers, and public virtue is so sublime, that it would never stoop to tap the Treasury;

or to some lone spot in the wilderness, whe it might have the pleasure of laying the foundation of a New Jerusalem, at the cost of only The body of men, elected by Missouri votes some two or three hundred millions of dollars more? Surely it is just as easy for Uncle Samuel to take up his bed and walk, on an "experimental" journey, as it is for this aspiring genius in the Times to "try its newnent of a poll-tax of one dollar, &c. fledged wings?" A mighty People, we the People of Wash

ington! We have contrived everything-wings to the Capitol, wings to the Patent Office, additions to the Post Office and Treasury Building, Lunatic Asylums, Soldiers' Retreats-and and thus defines the persons who shall be en then, we supply the architects, we take all the Convention: contracts for materials, we fatten on the jobs!!

The Government must have the buildings

souls of connoisseurs, huddling in the avenues and in the Capitol!" This new-fledged genius should "try an experimental flight" to Washington, and inspect the statuary along the avenues! Alas! Washington has no painter that Congress has condscended to patronize, and the sculptor we have is passed by for the purpose of cherishing the genius that adorns other ocalities. Whatever the style of art and architecture in this place, Washington is not responsible, any more than it is for the millions of dollars voted by Congress to the New York Collins Line Steamers.

We cannot better close this rambling tice of Washington and its assailants, than by copying the following paragraph or two from the Independent (N. H.) Democrat, from which it will be seen that we are on the brink of starvation :

"Marketing at Washington .- The following we extract from Olmstead's 'Seaboard Slave States.' It is a picture of market day in Washington which is very little complin not at all exagggerated:
"'The very trifling quantity of articles brought in and exposed for sale by most of the

market-people was noticeable; a peck of pota-toes, three bunches of carrots, two cabbages, six eggs, and a chicken, would be about the average stock and trade of all the dealers. Mr. F. said that an old negro woman once came to his door with a single large turkey, which she his door with a single large turkey, which she fatigued pressed him to buy. Struck with her fatigued appearance, he made some inquiries of her, and ascertained that she had been several days tions in relation to citizenship, fidelity to the too, of the most debased, and probably, like ment; they are a wital part of our Government; they are our most efficient police; our coming from home, had travelled mainly on money somehow, and he could not sell anyting else, so he tole me to catch the big gobuler, and tote um down to Washington, and see what

We beg leave to assure our friends that the dians and white males of eighteen years of age, editor of the Democrat, when he was in Wash- and that women might votes the bill of Mi ington, had the pleasure of dining sometimes on turkeys, which cost from a dollar to a dol- shall vote for delegates to the Constitutional lar and a half a-piece; sometimes on chickens, which were bought for seventy-five cents a pair; sometimes on beef, exquisite in fibre and flavor, bought for fifteen cents a pound; and, so far as we know, his backbone was in as healthy a condition when he left as when he came. As for Mr. Olmstead, he has written a book, and let us hope that he has come near er the mark in his observations on Southern Society, than Washington Marketing.

As for the water-works controversy, we take no part in it. The citizens can get along without them quite as well as the Federal Government. The only practical question in the matter is, whether this Congress, without any examination of the subject, should reverse the decisions of the two preceding Congresses, made upon a full investigation of the

THE FINAL TEST

In the Era of April 10th, we pointed the successive steps by which the so-called Democratic Party had been degraded to the uses of Slavery; and said that the next step would be the denial to the People of a Territory of the right to prohibit Slavery. Already t had repudiated intervention by Congressbut the ultimate aim of the Slave Power was to repudiate intervention by the Territorial Legislature. Since then, the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer has come out with a long editorial, denouncing in decided terms the dogma "Squatter Sovereignty," claiming for the Federal Government absolute power over the Territories, insisting upon its duty to set aside any Territorial legislation against Slavery, and assuming that Congress has the right to reject the application of a Territory for admission as a State, for due cause. And it thus gives law to the Cincinnati Convention, to meet in

"We must, in the Cincinnati platform, repu diate Squatter Sovereignty, and expressly assert State equality. We must declare that it is the duty of the General Government to see that no duty of the General Government to see that no invidious or injurious distinctions are made between the people or the property of different sections in the Territories. We do not mean to dictate. It may be that the assertion in the platform of the abstract proposition of State equality may suffice to carry along with it the consequences which we desire. But it is often charged that the Kansas-Nebraska bill contains the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty, and that Squatter Sovereignty is the most efficient agent of Free-Soilism. Some [all] Northern Democrats have maintained this ground. Now, This GUN MUST BE SPIKED. It must appear from our platform that we maintain practical State Kansas-Nebraska act watch would deteat it.
The South only demands equality of right.
The more clearly it appears that the Northerz
Democracy is ready to concede it to her, the
more certain is our candidate of success." Now, let us see whether the so-called De

nocracy is ready for its final le o into perdition STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN OHIO The Republican State Central Committee o Ohio has called a State Convention, to meet a

Columbus, Thursday, May 22d. LEAVING THE COUNTRY .- The Free State of April 7th, published at Lawrence, Kansas. says that many of the prominent siders in the outrages against the people of Kansas are eaving the Territory and going back to Missouri. One man, it says, has sold out for \$350, a claim that cost him \$1,500. Another who claimed a number of slaves, is preparing to leave the "Abolition State." Slaveholders can leave the "Abolition State." Slav

Section 23d of the Kansas-Nebraska act pro

"And be it further enacted. That every free white male inhabitant above the age of twentyone years, who shall be an actual resident of said Territory, and shall possess the qualifications hereinafter prescribed, shall be entitled to vote at the first election, and shall be eligible to any office within the said Territory; but the qualification of voters, and of holding office, at all subsequent elections, shall be such as shall be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly:

Provided, That the right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States, and those who shall have declared on oath their intention to become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act; and provided, further, that no officer, soldier, seaman, marine, or other person in the army or navy of the United States, shall be allowed to vote or hold of fice in said Territory, by reason of being on active thesein."

Whether or not the Canadas are to become

support the Fugitive Slave Act; the pre-pay-The Bill of Mr. Douglas, authorizing the organization of a State Government in Kansas,

on certain conditions, does not recognise these additional qualifications, but supersedes them, titled to vote for delegates to the Constitutional "SEO. 2. And be it further chacted, That the

monts, and in the district for the period of three months, next preceding the day of elec-tion, and who shall possess the other qualifica-tions required by the organic act of the Terri-tory, shall be entitled to vote, and that none others shall be permitted to vote at said elec-

The voter must be a white male adult, resident in the Territory six months, in the district | the Slave Power be humbled, they may wilwhere he votes, three months next preceding the day of election, "with the other qualifications required by the organic act of the Territory"-that is, he must be a citizen of the Uni- deep interest every advance in all that prepares ted States, or one who shall have declared on a State for independence, and constitutes its oath his intention to become such, and have glory among our Canadian brethren. It were sworn to support the Constitution of the United States and the Kansas Nebraska Act-and neither an officer, soldier, seaman, marine, or and resources in this respect. The pamphlet employé in the army or navy of the United States, or attached to troops in the United States service. He who possesses these qualifications shall be entitled to vote, and none It has been supposed by some, that the

phraseology used by Mr. Douglas-"shall possess the other qualifications prescribed by the ous, being really intended to recognise covertly and by indirection, the qualifications required by the sham Legislature : for, it is alleged, the organic act authorizes the Legislature to determine the qualifications for suffrage. We States-conditions "required by the organic act"-and not to such as might be enacted by the Territorial Legislature. Suppose, indeed the sham Legislature had provided that In Douglas enacts that none but white male adults Convention, thus excluding all these classes: now, will it be contended that because the bill further provides that voters shall possess the other qualifications required by the organic act, that therefore Indians, boys of eighteen, and women, would have a right to vote, because that act empowers the Territorial Legislature to determine the qualifications of voters in elections held subsequent to its first meeting, and the Legislature had entitled such classes to vote?

The truth is, Congress invested the Territo rial Legislature with that power, to be exercised during the territorial condition of the Territory, and it may, at any time, modify or revoke it. In the case before us, in which the perritorial condition of Kansas is to be terminated, the bill of Mr. Douglas proposes to superede entirely the Territorial Legislature, so far as determining the qualifications of voters is concerned, and, if passed, no additional qualifieation can be required by Territorial legisla ion. The passage of the bill will be an affirm ation of the right of Congress to determine the whole question of suffrage in a Territory-of course, a virtual repudiation of the dogma of Popular Sovereignty," so-called.

Our object in these remarks is, not to adv cate the bill of Mr. Douglas, but to correct what we deem a misapprehension, that may lead to waste of effort on a point not assailable. The real objections to the bil' of Mr. Douglas

are, that it ignores the action of the People of Kansas, who have already formed an excellent State Constitution, which needs only the sanction of Congress to become Law; that it post-pones the day of their deliverance from the oppression of Missouri; that it recognises the va lidity of the self-styled Legislature imposed on Kansas by invaders of her territory from Missouri; that, in empowering this body to superntend all the preliminary steps necessary the organization of a State Government, it coninues power in the hands of the Slavery Propaganda, and subjects the Free State Party to a Despotism which, judging from the past, will not scruple to deprive them of their rights.

COL. LANE AND HIS OLD FRIENDS.

FRANKLIN, IND., April 11, 1856. DEAR SIR: Inasmuch as the whole country intensely excited at the present time, and ill be more as Kansas affairs will enter large will be more as Kansas altars will clust range ly into the political conflict which is just open-ing up before us; and knowing that there is an increasing desire in the minds of men of all parties to know the facts in relation to Kansas, and to learn them from the lips of one whom and conflict, and who has taken an active part in the affairs of Kansas, both in Congress and nty to ask you to revisit a county which gave ing matters, at as early a day JOHN T. VAWTER,

JAMES RITCHEY, GEORGE W. RIDDELL, and thirty others.

Gen. James H. Lane. Col. Lane, April 13th, replies in ent letter, closing as follows : "I will be with you at Franklin

THE KANSAS BILL OF MR. DOUGLAS QUALL Vista; saw them when they moved forward to in all, 3,311, besides the Provincial University force, at the same time exposed to an enfla-ding fire of grape and canister from four pieces of artillery, until every third man had fallen,

year 1856. With an Appendix. By the Chief The result would be not surely in their farm, Superintendent of Schools. Printed by order of alongside of our Canadian neighbors. The Whether or not the Canadas are to become

part of our Union, and to form two or more

Kansas, at its first meeting prescribed several time and circumstances must decide. We additional qualifications, such as, an oath to support the Fugitive Slave Act; the pre-pay- the probabilities of an event like this are much will be useful as matters of reverence and after seened, and we confess to our doubts if it comparison. A most interesting portion of this shall soon, even if ever, be reached. Our Report is the replies of several distinguished views rest on the comparatively little desire of gentlemen of Massachusetts, to questions of our Canadian neighbors—and even of that por-tion once so strenuous for it, the Canadian patriots—to be incorporated with us, and the determined opposition the proposal will meet Webster, Robert C. Winthrop, George Bancroft, with from the Sov.h. The Canadians, witnessing the strides Slavery has been making among its arrorant claims for nationality, and the poet. One and all concur in high preprizing the blessings rather of Freedom, intact of the system. We should be glad to quet and unsullied, will be far more likely to set up largely from this document, if we could, but for themselves, and take care of themselves, than to place their rights and institutions within reach of the grasp of so insatiable a monster. Especially will this be true, if they may, as doubtless they yet will, enjoy the plessings of free trade and reciprocal commerce to its fullest extent with the States more mmediately on their borders. Such an intercourse will lead to a closer one of connections in families and kindred, and thus assimilated if the propitious era shall arrive when Freedon among these States shall be triumphant, and lingly cast in their lot, and be one with this then really free people. But, whether such be the result or not, we cannot regard without

better for us were we more acquainted with this progress, and if we understood their means furnishes us with no inconsiderable amount of information on the subject of education, one of deep, practical interest, and bearing on the welfare of any community. It is an official document, full of important statistics, and, like every such public paper, affording materials of comparison and proof as to the efficiency of systematic education for training up a people for organic act of the Territory"-is disingenuthe enjoyment of the highest privileges of a State or Nation. The present Report relates only to Upper Canada, or, as it is now more frequently termed, Canada West. This portion of the of Providence—the light, the air, or the set whole country, while it contains, no doubt, a sons. I cannot conceive of our getting along cannot see the force of the supposition. The large part of the most cultivated and best citi-

Constitution and Kansas-Nebraska Act, and wise, of the most bigoted in all the British shameless as we have ever seen among the human race, we saw years ago, among the longrel population of Canada, of the mixed aces of Canadian, French, and Indian blood. We hope things are better now: at least, if we ay augur anything from the racts in the pages before us, we are sure the light is beginning to penetrate the dark places, where, in their chambers of imagery, superstition, and ignorance, had gathered their abominations. No doubt the influence of the Roman Catholic priesthood has rested like an incubus on the country-we embrace now, in our remark, all of Canada-and the report before us gives evidence that this power is exerted still to prevent the diffusion of a purer and more free effort to rise. But it is no matter of wonder that Canada, in a great degree, for many long years only a sort of military colony, settled originally by the French, and the Roman Catholic religion, in its most despotic form, wrought into the elements of its national being, and thus moulded into a country where all kinds of prejudices and passions adverse to a truer Gospel have been fostered and gathered into giant etrenoth-it is what was to be expected that Canada, thus born and nurtured, should be long in learning the secret of its power, and cast away from itself the bonds in which it has been held. The day of its deliverance from this vassalage is approaching. Efforts and uccesses like those here recorded, are to bear

no small part in ushering in, as they now herald, that day. We can only throw together a few of the statistics and facts here given. The whole pamphlet contains some 250 pages, 8vo, and s divided into the General Report, Statistical Report, and Appendix, full of interesting papers and matters relating to the subject of schools, and education generally.

The General Report gives nine tables, and

scusses the important question of religious instruction in the schools. On this question, public, that lawlessness and political frenzy are the report takes strong ground against the schools being allowed to become sectarian or not our readers see what must be, and what is denominational. There seems to be a desire, the contrast now, in these respects? and can on the part of some of those belonging to the any true lover of his country, with his eyes national churches, to secure this result; but it open, hesitate one moment as to the alternati has not succeeded in impressing such a charac- of SLAVERY or FREEDOM in Kansas? ter on the schools hitherto. As decided an advocacy, too, is maintained in the Report in favor of general religious instruction, such as is prevalent in the best school systems of New ingland. Mr. Ryerson, the chief Superintendent of the Schools, quotes largely from his re port of 1851, in which he fully discussed this ubject, and he says, "I believe the number of persons in Upper Canada who would theoretically or practically exclude Christianity, in all its forms, as an essential element in the education of the country, is exceedingly small, and that more than nine-tenths of the people regard religious instruction as an essential and vital part of the education of their offspring. On this, as well as on higher grounds, I lay down as a fundamental principle, that religious instruction must form part of the education of he youth of our country, and that religious nstruction must be given by the several re ligious persuasions to their youth, respectively." The bearing of the Report is evidently in favor of the Bible in schools, leaving it, as their law loes, to the trustees and parents to arrange for hemselves the form of practice in reading it as school-book.

tables of minute details as to the number schools, teachers, scholars, books used, amount of money expended, &c., and covers some sixty pages of the Report. There is much interestmatter here, but it can hardly be comseed so as to be of use in our present olumns. As a total it is stated that are in Upper Canada 1 normal school, 2 model schools, (boys and girls,) 64 county grammar schools, and 3,244 common schools," making,

sity, and nine colleges, three of which to endowed with university powers. A gray total of nearly a million of dollar for each inhabitant of Upper Canada is stated as the cost. The attendance of pupils between the ages of 5 and 21, at the public schools in 1854, was 208,455; at the acadmies, private schools, and colleges, 214,634, o. in all, 423,000 and over, being one for ever

four inhabitants, and an increase, in a year, of 24,486 pupils, leaving about 60,000 children who never attend school at all in Upper Cana.
da. which, indeed, is 20,000 less than reported the previous year. Did our limits allow, we should like to make some comparisons here with the results of our own census, and especially as to schools in some of the largest slare. holding States, in proportion to the population The result would be not surely in their faror. selection of books evinces that a thorough course of instruction is the aim. The Appea dix contains numerous extracts from the subunder this act, styling itself the Legislature of Kansas, at its first meeting prescribed several time and circumstances must decide. We relation to the conduct and proficiency of the nor, Prescott the historian, and Longfeller

can only give a few extracts here and there as to the operation of the system, as a whole. Says Daniel Webster: "I have been familiar with the New England system of Free Schools for fifty years, and I heartily approve of it. * And, in my own case, I can say, that without these early means of instruction, ordained by law, and brought home to the small village and hamlets, for the use of all their children equally, I do not see how I should have hee able to become so far instructed in the elements of knowledge as to be fit for the higher

Says Edward Everett: "This would be good in any country; in ours, it is an essential of our general social system. I send my son to the public school in Cambridge, because i is the best within my reach."

Says Mr. Bancroft: "The Common School system of instruction in New England has been of incalculable service to morality, and makes the whole population susceptible of a far higher degree of knowledge on subjects connected with religion. I could hardly use language strong enough to express my sense of the benefit done by it) to the character, vigor of enterprise. morality, industry, general self-respect, love of liberty, respect for law, and attainments in religious knowledge, of the people of New Eng.

Says Mr. Winthrop: "I should find it almost as difficult to state the main grounds for my unqualified approbation of our Common School system, as I should to state the reasons for cherishing the common bounties and blessing substitute for them. * has made rapid strides in anything good, or great, or valuable, since its settlement. I think it has been primarily owing to the Common

School system." Mr Presentt also says: "I heliave or of system of instruction would be so ravorable the great body of the people; and such an education is of the last importance to a republican

Government like ours." Similar is the testimony of Dr. Sparks: "A system may be fairly judged by its results. In this respect, the system of Common Schools in New England claims unqualified approbation It has existed two hundred years, and I am not aware that the people of any country or community have exhibited the fruits of moral and religious culture in a higher degree than the inhabitants of New England.

Mr. Ticknor, after giving his commends n general, says: "And I will add—having lived two or three years in Germany, and longer i other parts of Europe-that I believe this New England system to be more effectual than any system of teaching has been made elsowhere, to secure the well-being of a State."

Such-and more might be cited-is the te timony given in 1851, by men who certain cannot be charged with fanaticism, to the hig intellectual and moral training of the States New England. We had adverted to this topic not merely as evincing the efforts of our friends in Canada to acquaint themselves with the best systems and select the best models, but for still another reason. It is men brought up under such training-her best, her chosen sons, carrying with them their experience of such means of mental and moral culture, and at once to establish them there, who are pressing from New England into Kansas. Are such men likely to be what they have been called b their enemies? It is to keep out such men, to fix upon that soil a curse that will blight suc elements of the strength and glory of our Recombined to make Kansas a slave State. De

PHILADELHHIA STEAMBOAT DISASTER,-O the 24th April, the Directors and Superinte ent of the Camden Ferry Company and the officers of the steamboat New Jersey, with the la spectors of Boilers and Machinery, were all rested by the Sheriff of the city of Camden, and held to bail in the sum of \$3,000 each, to answer in the matter of the loss of life by the burning of said ferry boat,

REPUBLICANISM IN MICHIGAN.-The Detroil

Tribune, of April 22d, says: "We have received sufficient returns or result of the township elections in this Sta leave no doubt that a large majority of the leave no doubt that a large majority of counties have gone overwhelmingly Republic "Of the thirty-two principal counties of State, the Republicans have certainly can twenty-one by decided majorities, and probly twenty-three, while the doughfaces he carried but nine certain, with a poor chance of the five hundred and odd two more! Of the five hundred and odd S pervisors elected by these thirty-two countiste Republicans have carried at least 275 the Locofocos 230, giving them a majority a not less than forty-five.

THE COOLIE BUSINESS .- The this traffic is fully proved by the fact merchants, who were induced by statements to allow our vessels to be statements to allow our vessels to be eags in it, upon the first representation of the man in which it was actually carried on, investiga-the subject carefully, and, being convinced of liability to gross abuse, determined to withdis-from all participation in it at once, at whaten pecuniary sacrifice; and such have been the orders to their agents abroad, at the risk prosecutions for violations of contracts.

The ? In the struggle now

NO. 487.

between the systems of the facts of the actual wils and its compensaal, moral, economical na, are of primary im man and moralist; and who desires to act wise upon the questions greater. After all that ha sides, it has been difficu of the truth to obtain a knowledge of the actual developed in the daily slaves, poor whites, and seen nothing so well co want, as " A JOURNEY T SLAVE STATES," by F. A American Farmer in E writes without passion of formly genial and goodrare faculty of seeing the otype of the South. So the picture is complete. ern life and manners is nuteness of detail which ritical regrets. The winding brightly through and philosophical reflect so admirably told, that it

erest of romance.

He enjoyed rare opposite the character of the peo-bond and free; and his companions and chance solors and conditions, the original. The conve lates with planters and s lated or imaginary; you ctual occurrence, as it them in the pine barrer sand hills of the Carolin up the Red river. Not can be well conceived the terviews with negro-driv rough-spoken planters, ar ernly housekeepers and While, as we conceive eader can take offence a of stating the facts which

vation, no Anti-Slavery m perusal without a deeper horrence of the baleful in not only master and slave which they tread. The volume is publish New York. 12mo., pp. serves, and can scarcely "WOLFSDEN" is the book from the publish

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pondent of ve Era : that her first essay we be a successful one. EMMA SOUTHWORTH ry tale, so well know Era under the name winning golden opinion the title of "INDIA." finest production of he

GRACE GREENWOOD lively, earnest writer, well as her fine intel new volume from the pr The Forest Tragedy dramatic power, and the make up the residue author's best manner. Our readers, we fee for calling their attention

new and revised editi Poems or Home AND mirable characteristic are reproduced in the felicitous verses. Those wide rambles have for Their pictures are fro nial, and truthful. Th freedom, and resonance ocean—the pine forests the solemn roll of the P mountains and limitless In this volume, as in author, one feels the he orous pulsations of a st tiful life, in which rom tempered by an abiding tion, and that charity with human life, in all the travelled gentlems

The HEART OF MARKE WARE.

J. C. Derby. Cincinnati: H.
& Menry, Washington, D. C.
This graphic delineati human heart is the p of "The Scarlet Letter. aturally and powerfully hat penetrates the surfaeil over the heart, and will recognise the truthfure. It is the thrilling y ad its certain terrible p Yet, while the author ly and well, he has to as to make ain attractive manner that we seem to tion of the Serpent in Pluck and eat, and moving good and evil." killed the injured he are flying from aveng twa pleasant, after of such a night—the starbed married life of bluely down out too the ceaseless may and to feel about of the Compality.

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THE NATIONAL ERA: WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 1, 1856.

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bond and free; and his portraits of traveling companions and chance acquaintances, of all colors and conditions, are manifestly true to the ariginal. The conversations which he relates with planters and slaves are never simulated or imaginary; you are as sure of their actual occurrence, as if you had listened to actual occurrence, as if you had listened to confounded all the teachings of Christ as to the sum of eighteen million pounds.

The imports were 153 and odd millions—a reduction of over eight millions. The loss of bullion in the Bank, the increased exports and diminished imports, show the country to be poorer by over twelve millions of pounds.

Nor is this all. The author, having thus confounded all the teachings of Christ as to the sum of eighteen million pounds.

The imports were 153 and odd millions—a reduction of over eight millions. The loss of bullion in the Bank, the increased exports and diminished imports, show the country to be poorer by over twelve millions of pounds.

The imports were 153 and odd millions—a reduction of over eight millions in the Bank, the increased exports and diminished imports, show the country to be poorer by over twelve millions of the life of a husband, the desertion of family and country, to drink to the full the cup of passionate and sensual joy.

Nor is this all. The author, having thus it was in 1854.

The number of marriages was 149,736, or them in the pine barrens of Virginia, on the sand hills of the Carolinas, or while steaming up the Red river. Nothing richer in humor can be well conceived than his accounts of in-

not only master and slave, but the very soil on which they tread.

The volume is published by Dix & Edwards, New York. 12mo., pp. 725. It certainly deserves, and can scarcely fail of, a wide circula-J. G. W.

book from the publishing house of Phillips, metimes careless and in bad taste, although never dull or commonplace. Viewed, however, empter, and the tender pathos and simple peanty of some of his descriptions of life and Nature indicate the bility of the author to take ahgh rank as a writer of fiction. J. G. W.

"Enry HALE." from the same publishers

mountains and limitless savannas of the West. In this volume, as in all the writings of the author, one feels the healthful warmth and vigorone pulsations of a strong, brave, and beau tiful life, in which romance and adventure are tempered by an abiding sense of moral obligation, and that charity and kindly sympathy with human life, in all its phases, which mark the travelled gentleman and Christian cosmo-

J.C. Deby. Cincinnati: H. W. Derby. Sold by Tsylor & Musy, Washington, D. C. Pp. 411.

This graphic delineation of the workings of hand and and and and and and and a start is the production of a master's hand and a start is the production of a master's hand and a start is the production of a master's hand and a start is the production of a master's

and, and is fraught with all the ragic interest 'The Scarlet Letter." The characters are acturally and powerfully drawn; and the eye engirates the surface of society, rends the valover the heart, and gazes into its depths, recognise the truthfulness of the portraitto certain terrible punishment. wi well, he has told it in such a manner

as to make sin attractive and alluring—in such er that we seem to hear the subtle temptof the Serpent in the Garden of Eden and eat, and ye shall be as Gods, ng good and evil." In proof of this, turn lled the injured husband, and the guilty

confounded all the teachings of Christ as to the nature of sin and its consequences, then develops the religious nature of Mabel Wars.

There is much pretty sentiment expressed of God, seen in his works, and the communion of Mabel's soul with the beautiful. But there is England has not accepted the service of the number of marriages was 149,736, or number of paupers in England and Wales is 877,767, or an increase of fifty thousand and more in two years. Emigration has fallen off mearly one hundred and fifty thousand—so that terviews with negro-drivers, poor whites, and Mabel's soul with the beautiful. But there is

LONDON, April 11, 1856. To the Editor of the National Era: The Central American question was brought up in Parliament last Friday night—and indeed the Crampton difficulty. Viscount Goderich "WOLFSDEN" is the title of a noticeable wished to know if a despatch of the British Minister to Mr. Crampton, which has found its Sampson, & Co., Boston. As a work of art, it way into the English papers through the mes manifestly open to criticism. The plot is dium of the American press, is authentic; for is manifestly open to criticism. The plot is not particularly ingenious, and its pictures of city life and Southern scenes might have been once the offer of arbitration made to our Government without any real loss of interest. The concernitied without any real loss of interest. The concernities are described by the concernities of the present of the style, often vigorous, terse, and picturesque, is ernment by Lord Clarendon—and the reason he gives is, that "he overlooked it."

Mr. Gladstone followed the Viscount in a as a picture of New England rural life, it has, in our apinion, few equals in our literature. The for a reason, he replies that the Foreign Office has been so busily engaged on other matters, that it could not get time to prepare the pa-pers for the House! Mr. Gladstone said: "The subject was of too much important

for any mere mechanical obstacles to be allowed to interfere with the production of these papers.

In another issue, it says :

United States."

In another issue, it says:

"In 1812-'13, the Americans had about 1,000,000 tons of shipping; now they have got upwards of 4,000,000 tons, or rather more than we have, and their ships are known to be amongst the finest of the world. The total population of the States was then about 8,000,000; it is now 25,000,000. Then they gave us a great deal of trouble. We might, perhaps, as some idle people amongst us boast, now sweep their commerce from the seas, but they, in turn, would sweep ours. A large portion of the great mercantile marine of the two countries, no longer employed in supplying their mutual wants, would be converted into instruments of mutual destruction. There would be a maritime war in every sea. Our West India Colonies, dependent, in a great measure, for food and lumber, on the States, would be exposed to great privations and to great depredations, and might take it into consideration whether they should not declare themselves a neutral State. Our own coasts would tempt numerous attacks, and we should ourselves suffer, as we have not suffered for many centuries, the horrors of partial invasion and actual warfare.

"May God forbid that the language of any"

In another issue, it says:

A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE LATE COL. BARON DE WEISSENFELS,

A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE LATE COL. BARON DE WEISSENFELS,

De WEISSENFELS,

One of the besies of the Revolution. Gempiled from another in the Parage of the Revolution. Gempiled from another in the same and the thenthey can easily find elsewhere. J. S. P.

A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE LATE COL. BARON DE WEISSENFELS,

One of the besies of the Revolution. Gempiled from another they in turn to prevent a population of the great dependent in the Kingdom of Prussia. A town in Germany bears the name of his family. He was trained to arms under Frederick the Great; and peace having been conquered by that great captain, Weissenfels was an officer in the British service, in North America, in 1756. He ascended the Heights of Abraham with brave well of the states of the Rev

Mabel's soul with the beautiful. But there is rough-spoken planters, and their shiftless, slatternly housekeepers and helpmates.

While, as we conceive, no candid Southern reader can take offence at the author's manner of stating the facts which fell under his observation, no Anti-Slavery man can rise from their perusal without a deeper and more settled abhorence of the baleful institution, which curses not only master and slave, but the very soil on A commission is to proceed to the spot, and ascertain the wishes of the people. Sardinia wishes the Congress to consider the Italian question, fearing that Russia may revenge itself upon her hereafter, through Austria.

The Russian Imperial Peace Manifesto has instructed its appearance here and avoites some just made its appearance here, and excites some severe criticism. It, of course, charges the

commencement of the war upon the Allies, and makes the best use of its facts, bui it is a lame efence.

The two steamers sent out by the Govern Truly yours,

THE PRESIDENCY.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune. WASHINGTON, April 25, 1856. cause, or not at all. Who the candidate is, is a matter of small consequence, so he be a true man, and a man not specially obnoxious to any wide-spread existing popular prejudice. Among the individuals who come within this category, there is not much to choose. No one of them **Birk HALE," from the same publishers, is spirid and graphic New England story. It is supined and graphic New England story. It is supported to the Erac a more mental form his noble friend that the subject itself had not passed out of the hands of the Government.—[hear]—that no ultimatum had been been might be a successful one.

**Ema Southwoorna's admirable Auti Slavety of lake, so well known to the re-ders of the first of the subject that had not passed out of the hands of the hands of the hands of the hands of the them are of Mark Sutherland, is visualized by the subject that the subject tieself had not passed out of the hands of the hands of the hands of the them are calculated that these difficulties would be a under the name of Mark Sutherland, is visualized that these difficulties would be the subject that the subject tieself had not passed out of the hands of the hands of the third that the subject tieself had not passed out of the hands of the h can either essentially strengthen or materially weaken the ticket. Any attempts to run after

We think the election of Mr. Chase as Governments."

Mr. Gradstone speaks the minds of five-sixths of the English people. The Evening Star, the very best of the cheap dailies, says:

"After Lord Palmerston's speech, which will no doubt increase the irritation of the people of the United States, it is doubly important that the people should speak out. Let them, as Mr. Baxter advised at Dundee, 'take the matter into their own hands.' Let them show the Government that they will not tolerate a feeling which threatens to embark us in a war with the a clearer view of the real power of the issue on which they are to fight the Presidential bat-tle than they can easily find elsewhere. J. S. P.

mentral State. Our own coasts would tempt numerous attacks, and we should ourselves suffer, as we have not suffered for may centuries, the horrors of partial invasion and actual warfare.

"May God forbid that the language of any bolticians, or of any portion of the Press of England, should ever bring about a civil war between two nations so circumstanced."

I make these extracts to show the real state of feeling here, notwithstanding the war-cries were not now reserved, as they not to be, but joyous as a boy's. His were full of love; his voice musical pr. They were not old, these two, but, at maturing experiences of the recent key now secred to grow young every hey were not sorry when the retarding the marry now secred to grow young every hey were not sorry when the retarding the war. Algeria I sa supplied the army with provisions, besides exporting to France large the war, and attacked in New York. He had served in the same regiment with St. Clair.

When the Whigs of the Colonies, in 1775, raised the standard of liberty and struck for their rights, Wiessenfels was among the reduced officient and suffer, as we have not suritive field in New York. He had served in the same regiment with St. Clair.

When the Whigs of the Colonies, in 1775, raised the standard of liberty and struck for their rights, Wiessenfels was among the reduced officient has surfered and actual warfare.

"May God forbid that the language of any politicians, or of any portion of the Press of England, should ever bring about a civil war between two nations so circumstanced."

I make these extracts to show the real state of him. But he hesitated in the same regiment with St. Clair.

When the Whigs of the Colonies, in 1775, raised the standard of liberty and struck for the first who enbarked in the cause, though it was in the same regiment with St. Clair.

When the Whigs of the Colonies, for he first who enbarked in the same regiment with St. Clair.

When the Whigs of the Colonies, for he first who enbarked in the standard of liberty and struck f

manded it himself, could hardly have been denied, and the claim to which has descended A FRIEND OF THE HEIRS.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR SILLIMAN. New HAVEN, CONN., April 16, 1856.

To the Hon. John P. Hale: DEAR SIR: Observing that you have promptly repelled a slander recently uttered on the floor of the Senate, I avail myself of the occasion to of the Senate, I avail myself of the occasion to vindicate both myself and my fellow-citizens of New England from unfounded and injurious imputations. In doing this, I am influenced solely by a regard for truth and by respect for the Senate of my country.

The colony of about one hundred persons who have recently gone [to Kanssel from

who have recently gone [to Kansas] from among us are, I believe, without exception, people of substantial and excellent character, and of the best habits. Our community has suffered a serious loss by their departure, but we felt that we had no right to object to their removal to a region where they hope to establish happy homes and to contribute to the formation of a good state of society. We have therefore afforded them all the assistance in our power, both by moral encouragement and by material aid in money and in arms.

It is no new thing for colonies to go out

armed. Our ancestors came from Europe to this country in full panoply, and every colony to the Oriental countries is furnished with arms as a necessary protection. The pioneers of the great West bore arms from the East, with all Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

In our spinics, few equals in our literature. The story of the child-hunt in the wild Maine woods, the winter sheigh rides and singing parties, and publications of the winter sheigh rides and singing parties, and publications of the winter sheigh rides and singing parties, and publications of the winter sheigh rides and singing parties, and publications of the winter sheigh rides and singing parties, and publications of the winter sheigh rides and singing parties, and publications of the winter sheigh rides and singing parties, and publications of the conduct of the English, in exasperation, laid deduce and, after a short to Oregon, and from the close of the American question. Long since, Lord Clarendon had been the coincident of the winter sheigh rides and singing parties, and the winter sheigh rides and singing parties of the Christians were killed or woundand character. The English, in exasperation, laid devocated by Mr. Brodhead, and, after a short to Oregon, and from the close of the American question. Long since, Lord Clarendon had devocated by Mr. Brodhead, and, after a short to Oregon, and from the close of the American question. Long since, Lord Clarendon had devocated by Mr. Brodhead, and, after a short to Oregon, and from the close of the American question. The bill for the relief of George P. Marsh was advocated by Mr. Brodhead, and, murderous men, the original inhabitants of this continent, were to be repulsed or held aloof by the fear of arms, wielded by strong hands and

directed by courageous minds,
Is the case of the New England emigrants to Kansas different in any essential circumstances from those which I have named? Are not from those which I have named I Are not ferocious animals to be slain, as then, for safety, and harmless ones for food I. And, for reasons still more imperative, protection by arms is equally indispensable as then, not indeed in Kansas against the aborigines of the forest, but against men falsely called civilized, whose numerous and unprovoked assembles have been against men falsely called civilized, whose numerous and unprovoked assaults have been made upon peaceful emigrants and other travellers, on steamers or on the land, whose lawless spoliations and wanton dastruction of property and whose repeated murders have been perpetrated under circumstances of aggravated insult and cruelty, while the robbers and murderers still walk freely abroad, and justice is unaverged; not to mention the menaces of a general massacre of a peaceful and unoffending population by an armed host under high physical excitement, a catastrophe of guilt and infamy which appears to have been prevented solely by the fact that the intended victims had arma in their hands, and had both the courage and the skill to use them effectually in self-defence—all these reasons impose upon emigrants from the skill to use them effectually in self-defence—
all these reasons impose upon emigrants from
the free States passing that way the absolute
commanding necessity of protection by arms.
Could we, then, citizens of New Haven, permit our emigrating friends to depart unarmed,
and to encounter these dangers without adequate protection? In us this neglect would
have been cruel, in them suicidal. We are
assured that all persons coming to Kansas from
the South, to settle or to vote, carry arms. Can
any reason, then, be assigned why emigrants
from New England should come on in a defenceless condition? If the former course is right,
the latter course cannot be wrong, and this
will be the verdict of many a good and honorable mind in the South.

able mind in the South.

The New England emigrants regard their arms as a defensive protection merely. The knowledge that they are thus provided will, as we believe, prevent the necessity of using them.

The Eastern emigrants to Kansas are in general real real existers. colony have gone, to improve their fortunes, to create new and desirable homes, and to carry into that new and beautiful region those institutions which, under God, have produced the

New England.

The charge of treasonable designs against the Government we indignantly deny and repel.

This is a question merely of safe emigration, and in this movement the Government is not at and in this movement the Government is not at all in view, except in the act which has opened Kansas and Nebraska to emigration from every part of our country. The arms which are car-ried by the New England emigrants have refer-ence only to wild animals and lawless men, whose assaults, should, they be made, will be resisted; but the arms will never be employed in acts of cognession.

in acts of aggression.

There is no reason to believe that persons from the East have ever gone to Kansas merely to vote and then to return to their former from the East have ever gone to Kansas merely to vote and then to return to their former homes. It appears quite incredible that men should travel fifteen hundred to two thousand miles, with no small expense of time and money, marely to east a vote to carry an election. The strong tide of emigration which is now flowing West has for its object a permanent establishment in Kansas, and has not been undertaken from any transient impulse or for a fugitive and temporary purpose. Ill health, disappointment, or other personal reasons, may have induced some of the New England emigrants to return; but the great body of them will remain, and will, I trust, exhibit results, already indeed manifest, which will confer blessings on that Western world. Those results will be such as belong to peaceful industry, enterprise, and industrial skill, appearing not only in material prosperity, but in intellectual and moral influences, which will produce a happy and flourishing community. I am not disposed to apologize for whatever aid I may have contributed by action or influence to arm our emigrant colony, nor am I aware that the extraneous circumstances of time, place, and person, connected with the occasion, are of any aerious importance. They were, at the griss alluded to, wholly accidental and unexpected; but the exigency admitted not of change or delay, and the thing done was right. It is no evidence of a good cause, when extraneous and irrelevant circumstances of little or no importances.

ted Colonies. He ever disdained to ask for remuneration for these losses, though he greatly needed it, "from an unwillingness to give a seeming meroenary character to services which had been prompted solely by the most noble and generous impulses.

Colonel Weissenfels is dead! And his daughter and only heir, the inheritor of his poverty as well as his exalted virtues, also is dead. Her children survive her, also needy, but trusting that the country which has become great, and rich, and powerful, through the wisdom and the valor of the patriots of the Revolution—of whom their grandfather was a distinguished one—will accord to them that justice which, had he demanded it himself, could hardly have been devention, and of taking measures for an organized expression of their opinions at the next Presidential election. The list of names, which occupies no inconsiderable portion of this sheet, embraces an unusually large proportion of our prominent citizens for a political occasion, and indicates a degree of interest in the whitest to be emidded which measures to add subjects to be considered which we were hardly prepared for. Nor will the interest of the questions to be agitated at the meeting constitute its sole attractions. Several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the several eminent public men have promised to be present and participated in the s ticipate in its exercises, and among them three whose voices have never been heard in this metropolis, which is, however, quite familiar with their echoes. We refer to the Hon. Senator Harlan of Iowa, and Messrs. Fessenden of Maine, and Galloway of Ohio. We are authorized to state that these gentlemen have distinctly remised to be present, and to speak tinctly promised to be present, and to speak.

The meeting promises to be a highly interesting one, and we venture to believe that its effect upon the future politics of the country will be beneficial .- N. Y. Eve. Post, April 28

> THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS. First Session.

Friday, April 25, 1856. On motion of Mr. Toombs, a resolution was

adopted instructing the Committee on the Judi-ciary to inquire into the expediency of repealing the act of June, 1848, amendatory of the natural-A bill for the relief of George P. Marsh was advocated by Mr. Brodhead, and, after a short

opposed by Messrs. Brodhead and Bigler, when it was postponed.

The bill defining the duties of the commission-

ers of elections in the city of Washington, and for other purposes, was amended by the substitution of the bill agreed upon by the House committee, and then passed, as were also the bill incorporating the St. Thomas's Literary Society and the bill for the benefit of public schools furthe city of Washington. The Senate then adjourned until Monday.

HOUSE.
Yesterday, when the bill to refund the duties paid on all goods and merchandise destroyed by fire, in original packages, was before the House, the question was raised, that as the bill provided that the commissioners to settle these claims should issue certificates which should be cashed by the Secretary of the Treasury, it must necessarily be committed, under the rule re-quiring that all measures making appropriations shall receive their first consideration in Commit

shall receive their first consideration in commit-tee of the Whole.

The Speaker had decided that, as further legislation would be necessary before money could be paid under this bill, the rule did not apply in this case; but this decision was over-ruled by 11 majority.

This mornin; Mr. Watson moved a reconsid-Mr. Phelps condemned the hot haste exhibited to pass this bill. No one could assert how much money was involved. Rumor said, from

ten to fifteen millions of dollars.

Mr. Pelton explained, that from the best information he had obtained, the amount of duties to be refunded would scarcely exceed three or ive hundred thousand dollars.

Mr. Phelps thought that including San Fran

cisco, with all the other fires for the last sixteen years, covered by this bill, the amount would be far greater. The New York fire of July, 1845, alone, involved \$350,000. Mr. Phelps contended, the bill directed the Secretary of the Treasury to pay the money, being, in effect, an appropriation for that purpose.

Mr. Haven said the Speaker's decision yester day was right, though the bill came here under suspicious circumstances. It declared that the holders of certificates of adjudged losses shall holders of certificates of adjudged losses shall be paid, but conferred no authority on the Secre-tary of the Treasury to pay them. The Consti-tution declares the President shall receive an annual salary, but nobody thought the Secretary

of the Treasury could pay him without a speci appropriation—so in this case. The vote overruling the Speaker's decision was reconsidered by a vote of 74 to 71.

Mr. Haven explained, that in making the remark that the bill came here under suspicious circumstances, he had no reference to the committee who reported, but to "outside combine

tions."
Further debate ensued, in which Messrs. De Forther depate ensued, in white messis. Do vis of Maryland, Clingman, Orr, Washbura of Maine, Humphrey Marshall, Walker, Sim-mons, Letcher, Seward, and Quitman, participa ted, but, without taking the question, the House adjourned till Monday.

Monday, April 28, 1856.

SENATE.

Mr. Hunter, from the Committee on Finance Mr. Hunter, from the Committee on Finance, to which was referred the amendments of the Sanate to the bill to supply deficiences in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1856, amended and disagreed to by the House of Representatives, reported that the Senate insist on their amendments disagreed to by the House, and disagree to the amendments of the House to the amendments of the Sanate to said bill, and ask a Committee of Conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses.

to said bill, and ask a Committee of Conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses.

Mr. Rugh expressed the opinion that to some of the amendments the Senate ought to recede, and that the subject should not be disposed of in this wholesale manner.

Mr. Hunter reminded the Senator that it was the usual course, when the two Houses disagreed, to ask a Committee of Conference, and much time was saved by such an operation. If there was any particular amendment the Senator wished excepted, he could name it.

Mr. Pugh was opposed to the amendment of the Senate relating to the aqueduct. He would move that the Senate recede from the amendment.

move that the Genate recede from the amendment.

Mr. Hunter said that the State of Maryland had granted the right of way, and if any individual wrongs grew out of this grant, then the courts would be open to the wronged.

The question having been taken on Mr. Pugh's motion for the Senate to recede, it was decided in the negative by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Biggs, Clay, Fitzpatrick, Pugh, Wade, and Wilson—7.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Bell of New Hamp-

HOUSE.
The Speaker stated that the first business is order was the consideration of the appeal from the decision of the Chair that the bill of the wares, and merchandise, destroyed by fire, does not contain an appropriation, and therefore must not necessarily go to the Committee of the Who e under the rule requiring all measures making appropriations to be so referred, the question being on seconding the demand for the previous question.

The previous question was then seconde

when the question was put, "Shall the opinion of the Chair stand as the judgment of the House?" and it was decided in the affirmative-yeas 81, navs 76. The question then being on ordering the bill to a third reading—
Mr. Pelton, of New York, moved that it be

postponed until the third Tuesday in May. Some conversation ensued, when the ques tion was taken on the motion to postpone and it was decided in the negative—yeas 40 nays 107.
On motion of Mr. Orr, the bill was then mmitted.

Mr. Nichols, of Ohio, and Mr. Ready. Tennessee, then made explanations growing out of a speech recently delivered by Mr. Camp bell, of Ohio, at Hamilton, in that State, which Mr. C. replied. After some unimportant business, the House adjourned.

NEWS.

Forged Land Warrants. Washington, April 26 .- The amount of forged land warrants already discovered exceeds 1,000,000 acres. The investigation is still in progress, and additional frauds are daily coming to light.

quence of that paper advocating the railroad interests, and that they threatened to damage the property of the Railroad Company. Senator Douglas's Reply to Col. Lane.

Washington, April 26.—The Union, this morning, contains the Douglas and Lane correspondence. The concluding paragraph of Mr. Douglas's letter is as follows:

"Col. Lane calls upon me for such explanation." tion of my language as will remove all imp tation upon the integrity of his action or m tives, in connection with the memorial. M reply is, that there are no facts within my kno edge which can remove all imputation upon the integrity of his action or motives in connecti

with that memorial.' New Orleans, April 22.—The steamship Charles Morgan has arrived, from San Juan, The steamship Orizaba, from New York, arrived at San Juan on the 16th, and landed

525 passengers.

The reported defeat of Schlessinger is confirmed. Fifty of his men were killed. The cause of the defeat is alleged to have been negligence on the part of Schlessinger. The remnant of his party had arrived at Rivas. They nant of his party had arrived at Rivas. They loudly cursed their cowardly colonel. Captain Thorpe faced him with pistols on the field of battle, and threatened to shoot the coward. Capt. Thorpe came passenger in the Charles Morgan. He reports Walker in a good position, prosperous, and receiving large accessions to his forces.

Another battle had taken place at Arcapoka, between fourteen Arcapoka, between fourteen Arcapoka,

between fourteen Americans and a force of two hundred Costa Ricans. The latter were de-feated with the loss of thirty killed, whilst the Americans had only two killed.

From Nicaragua—Quarrel between French and Walker.

New Orleans, April 22.—Colonel French has New Orleans, April 22.—Colonel French has left San Juan for Aspinwall, owing to a quarrel with Walker. It is reported that Walker had 700 hundred men marching to meet the Costa Ricans, who were expected to invade Nicaragua. The accounts are meager and un: celiable.
Colonel Schlessinger has been court martial-

led on charges of treason and cowardice. The result of Schlessinger's engagement with the Costa Ricaus is stated to be a loss of ninety men, including the missing. The Kansas Investigating Committee Chicago, April 23.—Messrs. Howard and Sherman, of the Congressional Committee to investigate the Kansas difficulty, reached Fort

Leavenworth on the 14th instant. Mr. Oliver of Missouri, had not arrived. Connecticut Election. The official vote at the recent State election in Connecticut has just been announced, as follows: Ingham, (Dem.) 32,704; Minor, (Am.) 26,108; Welles, (Rep.) 6,740; Rockwell, (Wh.) 1,251; scattering 12—total 65,815—a larger vote by 35 than ever before cast in the State. Mr. Ingham lacks 1,407 votes of an election

Kansas News. Chicago, April 26.—A despatch from Leavenworth, dated the 22d inst., says that Sheri Jones attempted to arrest a man connected with the late difficulties, but was resisted by 300 nen, when Governor Shannon ordered out th

The foregoing story is considered doubtful. From Kansas. St. Louis, April 26 .- A dispatch from Kan sas city to the Republican says that the Uni-ted States troops made several arrests yester-day, and that Sheriff Jones, while guarding the prisoners, was shot. We have no further par-ticulars.

THE PEACE CONGRESS. Halifax, April 24.—The foreign files by the Arabia centain the following additional items:

The festivities of the Plenipotentiaries con-The festivities of the Plenipotentiaries continue. Ali Pasha was to give a grand ball in Christian style. A banquet by the Emperor to all the Plenipotentiaries is appointed for the 12th. It is said that the Russian Plenipotentiaries proposed that Count Buol, Ali Pacha, and M. Bourquency, should compose the commission to definitely arrange the Moldavo-Wallachian Government. ernment, but the proposal was rejected, and persons who have not taken an active part in the conference will be selected.

The Opinione of Turin gives, upon good authority, the conditions contained in the Turing

in limited request at 4s. 7d. @ 4s. 9d. @ 6s.

Turpentine in some request, but none in market. Nothing done in ter. Spirits of turpentine—moderate business at 34s. @ 34s. 6d. Tea firm at 9½d, for Congou. Sugar opened with a large, speculative demand, but closed at firmer rates with a limited inquiry. Molasses firm. Coffee unchanged in every respect. Rice understanding the control of the World-Prize Essay by of the control of the World-Prize Essay by changed—market quiet. Tallow firm—good North American 50s. Cheese, of average quality, selling at 56s.-market again bare.

ARRIVAL OF STEAMER ARABIA AT BOSTON. The Assassination in Parma-Collision between the Turks and Christians in Nicomedia.

Boston, April 25.-The steamship Arabia. rom Liverpool, via Halifax, arrived here about 3 o'clock last evening. Her mails will reach Baltimore to-morrow (Saturday) morning.
The foreign papers contain the following: The state of Parma is not much improved Dr. Mojoli, a Government officer, has been as

assinated at Milan, and that city is in a state of great excitement.

There is reason to believe that the Neapolitan Government intend to reduce the export duty on corn still further by at least one-half. Sixty thousand men are said to be in arm n Arabia, and Mecca, and Jeddah, in complete insurrection. The new Governor, just appoint ed from Constantinople, is the cause of the re

It is reported here that the Allies are to commence the evacuation of Turkey within forty days after the ratification of the treaty of peace, and that all the troops are to have quitted with n six months. This is not credited in the bestinformed circles.

A letter from Constantinople, dated the 31st

ultimo, says: "At Nicomedia, a collision had taken place between the Turks and Christians. The latter, assisted by the English who were there, made an attempt, after the publication of the 'Hatti Heumavon,' to place bells in their churches. Immediately upon this demonstra-tion, the Turks made an indiscriminate attack upon all Christians, not excepting the English Thirty of the Christians were killed or wound

New York, April 29 .- The Cunard steamer New York, April 29.—The Cunard steamer
Persia, with Liverpool and London dates of
the 19th, arrived at her dock this morning. The
passage was performed in nine days and a half. A civic banquet was given in London to Mr.

Dallas.

Lord Panmure had made an explanation why troops were being sent into Canada. He said it was not in anticipation of hostilities with the United States, but to supply the place of those withdrawn at the commencement of the war.

A slight defeat was experienced by the Gov-A sight defeat was experienced by the Government, in a vote against a grant to Maynooth College, which strengthened the rumor that Parliament will shortly be dissolved.

The Conference at Paris closed on Thursday.

The treaty ratifications will be promulgated at the end of the month. Immediately after the promulgation of the general treaty, the protocols will be published, and will make known the labors of the Peace

Congress in detail.

It was reported at Paris, that diplomati movements were on foot respecting Italy. The Austrian Ambassador was to go immediately o Rome on a special mission. It was rumored that the mission has reference to the Concordat but the Italian journals say it relates to the general state of Italy.

The Lord Mayor of London entertained Mr.

Dallas, on Tuesday, at the Mansion House, in honor of his arrival as Minister from the United States. The Lord Mayor toasted Mr. Dallas, prefacing his toast with a speech full of generous sentiments toward America, regretting that any question should arise between the two countries threatening the dreadful alternative of war. The toast was, "Health to Mr. Dallas, and prosperity to the great Republic to which he has the honor to belong."

Mr. Dallas made a felicitous reply, reciproca-

ting the generous sentiments of the Lord Mayor.
Other speeches were made, at the conclusion of which Mr. Dallas gave, "The Health of the Lady Mayoress."

The Lord Mayor responded, telling Mr. Dal-

las that he was authorized by that lady to say, that, if his dirlomacy equally his gallantry, here could be no fear as to the success aission.

A splendid fete was given in Paris on Monday, in honor of the peace plenipotentiaries.

Accounts from the manufacturing districts
were unfavorable. The demand for yarns and goods was extremely limited, and prices were not improving. Breadstuffs had further de-clined in all the markets. Provisions also con-

tinne to decline, owing to heavy receipts.

The Cabinet at Vienna are bent on occupying every corner of Italy where a political excan be got up, as an excuse for the presence of the military. Events in Italy are daily increasing in interest. It is quite possi-ble that the Grand Duke of Tascany will again be compelled to demand the assistance of Gereman troops. An additional Austrian force are under orders for the Roman States. The garrison of Lombardy are to be increased. Austria evidently intends to occupy permanently as much of Italy as she can, in order to insult and intrinse against Sardinia. In fact, Ans. and intrigue against Sardinia. In fact, Austria is virtually at war with Piedmont, although their armies are not face to face.

The Emperor of Austria signed the ratifications of the treaty on the 15th. A public thanks

giving was ordered throughout the country.

The English funds remain steady, but without animation. The discount market is easier The Liverpool breadstuffs market was consider ARRIVAL OF THE EMPIRE CITY.

New York, April 29 .- The steamer Empire

New York, April 29.—The steamer Empire City, from New Orleans on the 20th, and Havana on the evening of the 24th, arrived here this morning.

The steamer Philadelphia, from Aspinwall, with California passengers and mails of the 20th of March, had arrived at Havana.

A terrible affray occurred on the 15th inst., between the American transit passengers and the natives, in which the former had thirty killed and forty wounded.

The railroad property, and the property of individuals residing near the station, was destroyed; and all the baggage in the freighthouse was rifled.

The passengers upon whom this outrage was committed were those which left San Francisco

committed were those which left San Francisco on the 20th March, in the steamer Cortez, for San Juan del Sur, but landed at Panama in consequence of the Nicaraguan troubles.

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WASHINGT

WHAT IT COSTS TO I

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WASHINGTON, D. C. ASMISSION OF KANSAS.

SPEECH OF HON, JAMES HARLAN,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES. MARCH 27, 1856. After a brief recital of facts concerning the

nvasion of Kansas, Mr. HARLAN proceeded: Believing Congress (if competent) a more desirable tribunal for the establishment of great questions of State than armed men on the battle-field, I ask the indulgence of the Senate while I . Whether the Congress of the United States ha

1. Whether the Congress of the United States has power to exclude States proper ought to be exercised in the organization of Territorial Governments where Slavery did not previously exist.

In support of these propositions, I desire to cite, first, the declaratory acts of Congress following each acquisition of territory by the United States.

States.

In the year 1784, previous to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, Virginia ceded to the Confederacy all of her territory lying northwest of the Ohio river. All other States claiming any interest in this territory made a similar conveyance, with a few comparatively unimportant reservations. This was the first, and comprised all the territory owned by the Confedential

prised all the territory owned by the Confederacy.

In the year 1787, an Ordinance was adopted by the thirteen old States, containing a provision styled, "Articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the Northwest Territory," which, unless changed by mutual consent, was "to remain unalterable forever." This compact provides that

"There shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

This was the act of the thirteen sovereign States, while held together by Articles of Confederation. It had all the moral force of a regular treaty between independent nations. It was in form a mere "law of Congress," subject to repeal or modification at the will of the majority; but had all the moral elements of a "compact," a bargain, concluded, signed, and sealed, between high contracting parties—unchangeable in its very mature, without the consent of all the parties in interest. And thus it was published and acquiesced in by the people of all the States and Territories. None were then found to complain of the restriction, and to demand "the right to carry their property" in men and women into these their property" in men and women into these Territories. So completely contented were all the original States, North and South, with this settlement of our Territorial policy, that in the formation of the Constitution of the United States. adopted in the year 1789, conferring on the cen-tral Government all the essential elements of na-tionality, nothing is said on this subject, only

that
"The Congress shall have power to dispose of,
and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belong-

specting, the territory or other property belonging to the United States."

The government of the Territories is not even named. This had been provided for by the Ordinance of 1787, a provision older than the Constitution, which remained unchanged.

By an act passed at the First Congress, the Ordinance was modified, and declared to be in full force; and to its provisions all the subsequent legislation of Congress quietly conformed for more than thirty years.

nore than thirty years.

I am aware that an objection to the conclusive I am aware that an objection to the conclusiveness of this declaratory act of Congress has been urged with great ability by the honorable Senator from Georgia, [Mr. Toomss.] on this floor, a few days since, and also in a speech recently delivered by him in Boston. That I may do him no injustice, I read from the latter, because in it I think his views are represented with more clearness, precision, and strength, than in his recent impromptu reply to the honorable Senator from New Hampshire, [Mr. Hale.] He says:

"From these facts it is clear that this legislation for the Northwest Territory does not conflict with the principle I assert, and does not furnish a precedent for hostile legislation by Congress against Slavery in the Territories.

That such was neither the principle nor the

That such was neither the principle nor the policy upon which this act of Congress in 1789 was based, is further shown by the subsequent action of the same Congress upon the same subject. On the 2d of April, 1790, Congress, by Carolina of her Western lands, (now the State of Tennessee,) with this clause in the deed of cession: 'That no regulations made, or to be made, by Congress, shall tend to emancipate slaves' in the ceded Territory; and on the 26th May, 1790, passed a Territorial bill for the government of all the territory claimed by the United States, south of the Ohio river. The description of this territory included all the lands ceded by North Carolins, and it included a great deal more. Its boundaries were left indefinite, because there were conflicting claims to all the rest of the territory. But this act put to all the rest of the territory. But this act pu the whole country south of the Ohio, claimed whole action of the First Congress in relation to Slavery in the Territories is simply this: it acquiesced in a Government for the Northwest Territory, based upon a pre-existing Anti-Sla-very Ordinance, established a Government for the country ceded by North Carolina in con-formity with the Pro-Slavery clause in her deed of cession, and extended this Pro-Slavery clause to all the rest of the territory claimed by the United States. This legislation vindicates the cates of legislative exclusion. On the 7th of April, 1798, (during the administration of Pres-ident John Adams,) the next Territorial act was passed; it was the first act of Territorial legis

passed; it was the first act of Territorial legis-lation resting solely upon primary, original, un-fettered, constitutional power over the subject. It established a Government over the Territory included within the boundaries of a line drawn included within the boundaries of a line drawn due east from the mouth of the Yazoo river to the Chatahoochee river, thence down that river to the thirty-first degree of north latitude, thence west on that line to the Mississippi, then up that river to the beginning. This Territory was within the boundary of the United States, as defined by the treaty of Paris, and was held not to be within the boundary of any of the States. The controversy arose out of this state of facts. The controversy arose out of this state of facts. The controversy arose out of the States, in the south by the Alamaha river. In 1763, (after the surrender of her charter,) her limits were extended on the south, by the Crown of Great Britain, to the St. Mary's river, and thence on the thirty-first parallel of latitude to the Mississippi river. In 1764, it was claimed, that on the recommendation of the Board of Trade, the boundary was again altered, and that portion

the recommendation of the Board of Trade, the boundary was again altered, and that portion of territory lying within the boundaries I have described was annexed to West Florida, and that thus it stood at the Revolution and treaty of peace. Therefore, the United States claimed it as a property and in 1700. it as common property, and in 1798 passed the act now under review for its government. In that act, Congress neither claimed nor exercised any power to prohibit Slavery. The question came directly before it—the Ordinance of 1787, in terms, excluding the Anti-Slavery clause, was applied to this Territory. This is a precedent directly in point, and is directly against the exercise of the power now claimed. In 1802, Georgia ceded her Western lands, protecting Slavery in her grant, and the Federa

oting Slavery in her grant, and the Federovernment observed the stipulation." The honorable Senator argues against the conclusiveness of the Ordinance of 1787, as a legislative precedent, by citing the organic law passes in 1790, for the territory south of the Ohio river to which the clause of this Ordinance excluding Slavery was not applied; and, also, the orga-law of the Territory of Mississippi, approved 1798, to which all this Ordinance was applied

To this I reply, that the act of 1790, alth general, applied practically only to the Territory general, applied practically only to the Territory ceded by North Carolina—now the State of Tennessee. Tennessee was an inhabited country.

As early as 1785, she had made an effort to secure

ment.

In the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, and of the Floridas in 1819, the jurisdiction of the United States was extended over vast territories in which Slavery then existed by virtue of French and Spanish laws. The right of the people to hold slaves in these provinces, it was supposed, had become vegted, and was not unsettled by the treaties conveying them to our Government. Hence, Slavery was silently suffered to exist in that part of these Territories in the actual occupancy of slave property. Congress spaceted no that part of these Territories in the actual occupancy of slave property. Congress enacted no
law on the subject. Here it was neither approved
nor discarded. But in the enactment of the
Missouri Compromise, in the year 1820, Congress
provided that neither Slavery nor involuntary
servitude should ever be permitted north of
thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes. The principles of the Ordinance of 1787 were extended
over the territories now embraced within the
limits of Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska—then mostly uninhabited. From the history
of these transactions, the conclusion is irresistiof these transactions, the conclusion is irresisti-ble, that Congress intended that all of the im-mense territories ceded by France and Spain to

mense territories ceded by France and Spain to
this Government, not in the occupancy of slaveholding communities, should remain forever free;
and here our Territorial policy again rested for
about a quarter of a century.

In the "joint resolution," passed by Congress
in the year 1845, "for annexing Texas to the
United States," it was provided that

"New States of convenient size, not exceeding
four in number, in addition to said State of Texas,
and having sufficient nonplations, may hereafter. and having sufficient populations, may hereafter, and by the consent of said States, be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall be entitled

to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution. And such States as may be formed Constitution. And such States as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying fouth of 36° 30′ north latitude, commonly kno n as the Missouri Compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union with or without Slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire. And in such State or States as shall be formed out of said territory north of said Missouri Compromise line, Slavery or involuntary servitude (except for crime) shall be prohibited."

In the event of the division of this vast domain In the event of the division of the solution of Texas, it was provided that one or more of these four new States should be absolutely free, and that all the remaining States thus formed might be admitted as free States, should the people desire it. And here again the subject rested until the year 1850.

But in the adjustment of the difficulties grow-

ing out of the acquisition of large territories from Mexico, as trophies of war, Territorial Governments were established for Utah and New Mexico, with a conditional provision for each:

"That when admitted as a State, the said Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without Slavery,
as their Constitution may prescribe at the time
of their admission."

Here, for the first time, the Territorial policy of Here, for the first time, the Territorial policy of the Government, settled and uniform for nearly three quarters of a century, was changed. All the machinery of the ship of State here began to revolve in a different direction. The Northwest Territory, now embraced within the limits of five large and powerful States, was originally slave territory, by virtue of the laws of Virginia, (and other slave States cading it to the Union) as much

territory, by virtue of the laws of Virginia, (and other slave States ceding it to the Union,) as much so as the Territory of Kentucky, once held as a part of her dominions. But, by the Ordinance of 1787, it was all dedicated to Freedom.

The territory now embraced within the limits of Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Kansas, was doubtless slave territory, by virtue of French and Spanish laws. But by the enactment of the Mispanish laws. But by the enactment of the Mispanish laws. souri Compromise it was dedicated to Freedom.
All the vast domain of Texas was, without dis-All the vast domain of Texas was, without dispute, slave territory, by virtue of her own laws, enacted and enforced during her nationality. But, by the legislation of Congress admitting her into the Union, a large part of this, too, is prospectively dedicated to Freedom. But the Territories of New Mexico and Utah were, by virtue of Mexican laws, ABSOLUTELY FREE, when, by the legislation of the Congress of the United States, they were throwy once to Slavery.

legislation of the Congress of the United States, they were thrown open to Slavery.

But this revulsion in the Territorial policy of the Government in 1850; this conditional conversion of free territory to the uses of Slavery, in violation of the settled policy of the country, growing out of what had been supposed to be "the compromises of the Constitution," and in violation of the moral feelings and clear convictions of right of an overwhelming majority of the American people, was secured, not by denying the power of Congress to exclude Slavery, but in the name of Congress to exclude Slavery, but in the name for the admission of California without Slavere of her application—in connection with the enact-ment of laws for the modification of the boundary of the State of Texas, the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the return

of fugitives from labor.

The passage of these organic laws for Utah and New Mexico completed the settlement of the question of Slavery in all the Territories of the United States. Slavery was not prohibited in Utah and New Mexico by the laws of Congress; but and New Mexico by the laws of Congress; but in all that vast region, including Minnesota, Kan-sas, Nebraska, Oregon, and Washington, Slavery was still prohibited. This adjustment, obtained through the influence of such men as Clay and Webster—now passed to their final reward—and men that I see around me, with the legislative ex-perience of half a century crowning their brows, was said to be final. Reposing confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of statesmen who had stood firmly by their country's flag and the Con-stitution during the darkest hours of our national history—who had been defenders of their homes and their rights while the majority of them were still in their mothers' arms, the people peaceably, though in many instances restlessly and reluctantly, acquiesced in this supposed "finality." The admission of Slavery into Utah and New Mexico was not claimed as a constitutional right; it was asked as an element of compromise. No one is sufficiently reckless to pretend that the Compromise Measures of 1850 could have received the approval of Congress, much less of the people, with the understanding that this enactment opened all the Territories of the Union to the occupancy of slavsholding communities. Mexico was not claimed as a constitutional right

opened all the Territories of the Union to the oc-cupancy of slaveholding communities. In support of the proposition stated, I desire, in the second place, to cite the legislation of Con-gress in the organization of Territorial Govern-ments and in the admission of States formed out of territory previously free.

From these citations (I remark, in passing) it will be seen that the President is in error when he says, in his annual message, in relation to the prohibition of Slavery in the Northwest Territory by the Ordinance of 1787, that Subsequent to the Constitution, this provision

ceased to remain as a law, for its operation was absolutely superseded by the Constitution." In the year 1789, the very first Congress convened under, the provisions of the Constituti passed a law transferring certain duties impos by this Ordinance on Congress to the President of the United States, (as is expressly stated in the

"In order that the Ordinance of the United States in Congress assembled for the government of the Territory northwest of the river Ohio may continue to have full effect."-(Statutes a Large, vol. 1, p. 50.) In the year 1800, Congress declared, in the organic law of the Territory of Indiana,

"That there shall be established within said Territory a Government in all respects similar to that provided by the Ordinance of Congress pass ed on the 13th day of July, 1787, for the govern ment of the Territory of the United States north-west of the river Ohio; and the inhabitants shall be entitled to and enjoy all and singular the rights, privileges, and advantages, granted and secured to the people by the said Ordi-inance."—(Statutes at Large, vol. 2, p. 59.) In 1802, (April 30,) Congress passed a law t nable the people of Ohio to form a State Constitution, in which it is provided that said Constitu thouse, in which it is provided that said constitu-tion shall not "be repugnant to the Ordinance of the 13th July, 1787, between the original States and the people and States of the Territory north-west of the river Ohio."—(Statutes at Large, vol. 2 p. 1741)

2, p. 174.)
In 1809 (February 3,) Congress incorporated the same provision in the organic law of Illinois that was made a part of the organic law of Indi ans.—(Statutes at Large, vol. 2, p. 515.) In 1805, the same provision was made in the organic law of Michigan.—(Statutes at Large, vol. 2, p. 309.)

In the year 1816, (April 19,) Congress passed a law authorizing the people of Indiana to form a State Constitution, in which it is provided "That the same, whenever formed, shall be republican, and not repugnant to those articles of the Ordinance of the 13th of July, 1787, which are declared to be irrevocable between the original States and the people and States of the Territories northwest of the Ohio river."—(Stat.

In 1816, (December 11,) Congress passed a resolution declaring, among other things, that 'whereas the Constitution formed by the people of the Territory of Indiana is republican, and in conformity with the provisions of the Ordinance' above recited, "the said State is admitted into

Slavery, and not simply to prevent its establishment.

In the sequisition of Louisiana in 1803, and of 430.)

430.)
On December 3, 1818, Illinois was by resolution admitted into the Union as a sovereign State, on the ground that her Constitution, thus formed, did conform to the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787.—(Statutes at Large, vol. 3, p. 536.) In the year 1820, as we have before stated Congress declared, in the law providing for the admission of Missouri into the Unicn,

"That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisians the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, Slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited."—(Statutes at Large, vol. 3, p. 548.)

'have been duly convicted, shall be, and is here'by, forever prohibited."—(Statutes at Large, vol.
3, p. 548.)
In 1836, in the passage of the organic law of
the Territory of Wisconsin, which embraced
what is now the States of Wisconsin and Iowa
and the Territory of Minnesota, Congress again
extended and applied the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 to an immense country beyond the
limits of the Northwest Territory.—(Statutes at
Large, vol. 5, p. 15.)
In 1838, Congress again endorsed this Ordinance
of 1787, in the passage of the organic law of
Iowa, by extending to the people of this Territory
"all the privileges, rights, and immunities, hitherto enjoyed by the people of Wisconsin."—(Statutes at Large, vol. 5, p. 239.)
In 1845, Congress declared. (as we have before
stated.) in the act providing for the admission of
Texas as a member of the Union, that Slavery
should be prohibited in any State or States thereafter to be formed out of the territory north of
the Missouri Compromise line established in
1820.—(Statutes at Large, vol. 5, p. 798.)
In 1848, (March 3.), Congress extended the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 to all the territory of the United States west of the Rocky
Mountains, north of the forty-second degree of
north latitude, known as the Territory of Oregon, in the following words:

"And be it further enacted, That the inhabitants
of said Territory shall be entitled to enjoy all
and singular the rights, privileges, and advan-

"And be it further enacted, That the inhabitants of said Territory shall be entitled to enjoy all and singular the rights, privileges, and advantages, granted and secured to the people of the Territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, by the articles of compact contained in the Ordinance for the government of said Territory, on the 13th of July, 1787; and shall be subject to all the conditions, and restrictions, and prohibitions, in said articles of compact imposed upon the people of said Territory."—(Statutes at Large, vol. 9, p. 329.)

This embraced both Oregon and Washington Territories. In 1849, the same provision enacted in regard to Iowa was incorporated into the organic law of Minnesota.—(Statutes at Large,

organic law of Minnesota.—(Statutes at Large, vol. 9, p. 407.)

But all this mass of consecutive legislation, ex-But all this mass of consecutive legislation, except the act of 1820, is ignored by the President. He tells us that this provision of the Ordinance of 1787 ceased to remain as a law, being absolutely superseded by the Constitution. It is unfortunate for the correctness of this statement, that the Statutes at Large of the United States have been published from session to session by authority of Congress, and scattered broadcast over these States; it is unfortunate for its credence, that so many millions of the freemen of this Republic can read plain English!

can read plain English! can read plain English!

But the honorable Senator from Georgia
takes precisely the opposite tack. He denies the
position of the President, and says that this Ordinance

"Purported on its face to be a perpetual com pact between the State of Virginia, the people of the Territories, and the then Government of the United States. It was unalterable except by all the parties. The division of that Territory was provided for in the Ordinance; at each division, the whole of the Ordinance was applied to each of its parts. Congress did not assert or exercise the right to alter a compact entered into with the former Government, (the old Confederation,) but gave its assent to the Government already established, and provided for in the compact. If the original compact was void for want of power in the old Government to make it, as Mr. Madison supposed, Congress may not have been bound to accept it-it certainly had no power to alter it."

The honorable Senator from Georgia arrives

at an erroneous conclusion, only because his premises are untrue. This Ordinance does not purport on its face to be a compact between Virginia and the people of the Territories, and the United States, but a "compact between the originate of the constitutional right of the United States to acquire foreign territory. Mr. Jefferson and others have doubted the existence of this power under the Constitution." Territory." Virginia was no party to the bargain, "on its face;" nor were the people and States in said Territories contracting parties. There were no States in the said Territory; the people had no organization; they had no power to bargain until after the Ordinance was passed; and the Ordinance bears the signature of no representa-tive of Virginia, nor of the Territory—and of no one but "William Grayson, chairman" of Con gress, and "Charles Thompson, Secretary." In ther words, it was a law of the United States

passed in the usual form, containing a solemn declaration of the future policy of the Govern-ment on the subject of Slavery in her Territories. ment on the subject of Slavery in her Territories. It was no more irrepealable than the Missouri Compromise. Like the latter, it had all the moral elements of a perpetual covenant; but, legally, "it was a mere law of Congress;" and that, too, of a Congress under the Confederation, with fewer elements of sovereignty, with less power to bind the individual Staies, than is now possessed by Congress under the Constitution. Hence, if Congress had the power to repeal the Missouri Compromise, which literally means an agreement, a bargain, a "compact," it had the power to repeal the Compromise of 1787. They were both declaratory acts of Congress—nothing more. The veracity and honor of the nation were at stake. She had solemnly declared that Slavery should not be permitted in the Northwest Territory; and that in the Louisiana Territory north of 36° 30′ Slavery should be forever prohibnorth of 36° 30′ Slavery should be forever prohibited. This was the voice of the supreme power of the United States, spoken in the presence of the enlightened nations of the earth. But it was "a nude compact"—it bound no one but herself. If she chose to violate her plighted faith with her own citizens, and to stand a giant liar among

the nations, she doubtless had the power.

But be this as it may, these legislative precedents are not confined to subdivisions of the dents are not confined to subdivisions of the Northwest Territory. They have constantly followed the progress of population in the free territory. It was first applied to Ohio; when the tide of population rolled across the Miami, it was applied to Indiana; when it crossed the Wabash, it was applied to Illinois; when it surged up to the Northern lakes, it was applied to Michigan; when it hugged the western shore of the lakes up to the British possessions, and dashed across the great Father of Waters, it was applied to Wisconsin, including Iowa and Minnesota, both of

consin, including Iowa and Minnesota, both of which were beyond the boundaries of the Northwhich were beyond the boundaries of the Northwest Territory; and when it overleaped the Rocky Mountains, this great vertebral column of the world, it was applied to Oregon and Washington, bounded by the Pacific Ocean. These consecutive legislative precedents, commencing in 1787, and continuing to 1854, stand unimpeached and unimpeachable by any conclusive reasoning.

I observe, in the third place, there is no adverse decision of the Supreme Court.

In 1854, Congress repealed the Missouri Compromise, on the ground of its unconstitutionality. The power of Congress to exclude Slavery from the Territories was then for the first time denied.

The President has also declared these laws to be unconstitutional. He says, on the subject of

e unconstitutional. He says, on the subject of ne organization of the Territories of Utah and lew Mexico: "In the councils of Congress, there were man-

fested extreme differences of opinion and action between some Representatives, who desired the unconstitutional employment of the legislative powers of the Government to interfere in the condition of the inchoate States, and to impose their own social theories upon the latter, and other Representatives who received the internoother Representatives, who repelled the interpo-sition of the General Government in this respect and maintained the self-controlling rights of the States.

States triumphed signally; the new Territories were organized without restrictions upon the disputed point, and were thus left to judge in that

particular for themselves."

Those who desired Congress to exclude Slavery from the Territories were said "to desire the exercise of unconstitutional power;" and when Congress enacts laws throwing open territory, before free, to the occupancy of Slavery, he tells us "that the Constitution of the Union triumphed signally."

But, Mr. President, I desire here to inquire whence the President of the United States derived the power to adjudicate the constitutionality of laws which had previously passed through all the usual forms of legislation? I had supposed that such adjudications more fitly belonged to another department of the Government. The framers of the Constitution originally conferred this-power on the Supreme Court.

Under the Constitution, Congress may enact laws, the courts may adjudicate them, and the President may execute them. These three departments of the Government should remain distinct, because their union forms a despotism.

But if neither the President nor Congress may expound the laws without a usurpation of powers

If I am in error in this, let old and experiesced Senators here, whose knowledge must be perfect on this subject, correct me. Does no one answer? I hear no reply. Then I infer there are no such decisions, well authenticated, of any court of the country, State or National. Then, sir, what becomes of these charges of "treason against the Constitution and the Union," so liberally fulminated against the opponents of Slavery in Kansaa? Before I am condemned as an enemy of my country, as a political traitor to her fundamental law, I desire to know that some court of competent

try, as a political traitor to her fundamental law, I desire to know that some court of competent jurisdiction has decided that my opinions are in conflict with the Constitution.

I will not detain the Senate with the presentation of judicial opinions sustaining the constitutionality of the uniform legislation of Congress, which I have cited. The honorable Senator from Illinois [Mr. TRUMBULL] discussed this point to some extent a few days since. It is not necessary for my argument; for the entire absence of any judicial opinion, State or National, in conflict with the constitutionality of these laws, in all the adjudication that has arisen during nearly seventy years, amounts to a negative pregnant, as potent in its convincing efficacy as the most elaborate adjudication.

adjudication.
In the next place, I argue the existence of power in the Congress of the United States to legislate on the subject of Slavery in the Territories, from In each of the States of the Union, the power

In each of the States of the Union, the power of the General Government is restricted. Here the sovereignty is divided between the State and the United States. The powers of the United States are all derived from the State; but the powers of Congress in the Territories are not thus derived from a local Government—the order is reversed, and the Territorial Government derives ill its powers from the Government of the United The Government of the United States acquire

The Government of the United States acquired all her rights in the Northwest Territory, not by grant of all the old thirteen States through the Constitution, but by deed from Virginia; in the Territory of Tennessee, from North Carolina; in the Southwest Territory, including Mississippi and Alabama, from Georgia and Great Britain; in the Floridas, from Spain; in the Louisiana Territory, from France. The United States was the successor of each of these; and it is a wellthe successor of each of these; and it is a wellthe successor of each of these; and it is a well-settled principle of national law, that whatever the original sovereign of each of these might have done within its limits, while a part of his dominions, might be done by his successor.

Prior to the year 1803, I suppose, full, complete, and exclusive rovereignty in the Louisiana Territory (including Kansas and Nebraska) was vested in France. The Government of the United States, by a direct purchase, succeeded to all the rights and sovereignty originally possessed by the grantor; and hence became the actual, full, complete, and exclusive sovereign of the Territhe grantor; and hence became the actual, full, complete, and exclusive sovereign of the Territory. I suppose no one of the old thirteen States ever had any right, title, claim, or interest, in or to any part of the Louisiana Territory. No one of them had ever exercised any jurisdiction over it. It was a part of the dominions of France; she was its absolute sovereign. Hence the Government of the United States must have succeeded to the same unrestricted rights and may ceeded to the same unrestricted rights, and may hold, exercise, and enjoy them, until she chooses to confer them on another sovereignty. If France, previous to the cession, could have excluded Slavery from Kansas and Nebraska, this Government may do so now, subject only to the pro-vision in the Constitution which says that Congress may make all needful rules and regulations re-specting the Territories. The necessity of every rule and regulation is a fit subject for legislative discretion, for the exercise of which Congress is responsible to the people of the whole country, and not to the people of any individual State.

I argue the power of Congress to exclude Slavery from the common Territories, from the undisputed right to pass the Kansas-Nebraska act, conferring on the people "the right to reguate their own domestic institutions in their ow

If Congress had no power under the Con to Congress and no power under the Constitu-tion to regulate the domestic institutions of Kan-sas—to regulate the rights of person and of property—it could not confer this right on the people of the Territory. The grantor cannot convey rights and prerogatives which he never ossessed. The grantee can never take more than he grantor himself held. It is absurd to suppose one grantor nimset neta. It is absurd to suppose Congress capable of transferring to the people of Kansas rights, and privileges, and prerogatives, which Congress never possessed. The grant s worthless, if the original holder had no title. ence the advocates of "squatter sovereignty are driven to admit that all the rights, and priv leges, and power, of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, were previously vested in the Government of the United States. But if this Government of the United States. ment of the United States. But if this Govern-ment originally possessed the right to legislate for this Territory, and has since intrusted its exercise to a local Legislature, she is still responsible. The principal is responsible for the acts of the agent within the limits of his instructions. What a man does by an agent, he does by himself. Hence, what this Government does by another, she does by herself. What she does by the "spurious" Legislature of Kansas, is her own act. The real egislature of Kansas, is her own act. vereign can never avoid the responsibility o governing, by interposing a subordinate. Hence these Kansas laws, enacted by her "Rump' Legislature, establishing Slavery, appointing officers for a period of from two to five years, abridging "freadom of speach and of the

ng "freedom of speech and of the press," and making it a penal offence to deny the validity of such laws, are the laws of Congress. By recognising them, and suffering the President to enforce hem, you make them your own.

This conclusion can only be avoided by sur posing Congress to have transferred this sover-eignty to the people of the Territory, without reservation—without the right of review and repeat. But if this right to make all local laws regulating the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward, master and slave, as child, guardish and ward, master and slave, as well as the rights of person and property, was transferred absolutely, and irrevocably vested in the people of the Territories of Kansas and Ne-braska by the law of 1854, Congress in that act

ereated two States. Something less then a sovereign might interpret and apply a law, something less than a sovereign might enforce its provisions but nothing less than "the supreme power in a State" can make a law. If, then, the people of Kansas have power, under the Constitution the United States, to legislate on all fit subjection of legislation, as perfectly as Virginia, or Iowa or New York, independent of Congress, she is NOW A STATE!—and she became a State the moment this supreme power to make all needfulaws was conferred.

It may be said, however, that these organ lt may be said, however, that these organic laws do not confer power on the Territorial Legislatures; that they are merely declaratory of "great principles of government;" that the right to govern is inherent in the people; that it is not the subject of transfer; that it is an inalienable right; that it follows American citizens wherever they may on within the juvisdiction of the United

Congress or from nature; whether from the Government of the United States or from Jehovari Does the power to make all needful laws exist in the Territory? Is it absolutely vested in the people of Kansas? You say in the Kansas-Nebraska act that it is thus vested; and being so vested, that Congress is released from all responsibility growing out of the character of these laws. But if the people of Kansas have the absolute right to make all needful laws for their own government, they may create offices and fill them; they may establish courts, appoint judges and executive officers. The power to make and adjudicate laws, without the power to execute, is perfectly negatory. It is a mere pretence—a shadow—a name—a mockery. The appointment of a temporary Governor, and judges, and marshals, to put the machinery of State in motion, may have been well; but when these utterly fall to effect the object of their appointment, and bring about anarchy and civil war, the people—if sovereign, clothed with the supreme power of a State, the power to make all needful laws—would be unworthy the honor of the American name, should they neglect to provide for themselves. And it is marvellous that the authors of the Kansas-Nebraska act—the authors of the Kansas-Nebraska act—the authors of the Mansas? Is the doctrine of the weak against the aggression of the resolute and powerial. It will not do to defend the weak and moral strength. Adopt this doctrine, and powerial. It will not do to defend the weak and moral strength. Adopt the short is doctrine, and powerial. It will not do to defend the weak and spained be rivillege of Freedom to all who are your inferiors in physical, mental, and moral strength. Adopt the short in the for the Anglo-Saxon must proceed to enslave the world; for he is now, dorbites, the storing of Freedom to all who are your inferior

the opinions of the Judiciary on which the declarations of the President and of Congress are based. For if these laws were in fact unconstitutional, it would be strange if none of the country, State or National, in all the complicated adjudication that has arisen since 1789, have had occasion to pronounce them void. The President pronounces these laws unconstitutional. Congress repealed the Missouri Compromise because it was unconstitutional; and all who opposed this repeal are denounced as enemies to the Constitutional on earth that have the right to adjudicate such questions, have never, I believe, even intimated such an opinion!

If I am in error in this, let old and experiesced Senators here, whose knowledge must be perfect on this subject, correct me. Does no one answer? The new reply the power of Congress to exclude Slaves form.

The newer of Congress to exclude Slaves form.

As well might the old heathen deity, whose prolific brain gave birth to a Minerva, when confronted by his own offspring, complain that he had created a god.

Minerva, when confronted by his own offspring, complain that he had created a god.

But if Kansas is nat a State—if she does not possess the power to make laws, which is defined by the people of the North and of the West. The difficulty of the immediate emancipation of large bodies of slaves, in States where it has been long established, is as fully understood and as freely admitted by the people of the North and of the West. The deathen deity, whose prolific brain gave birth to a theathen deity, whose prolific brain gave birth to a difficulty of the immediate emancipation of large bodies of slaves, in States where it has been long established, is as fully understood and as freely admitted by the people of the North and of the West. The deep long of the North and of the West. The deathen deity, whose prolific brain gave birth to a three the power to make laws, which is defined by the people of the North and of the West. The deep long of the North and of the West. The deep long o

wrong."
The power of Congress to exclude Slavery from all the Territories of the United States, not embraced within the limits of any State, being established or conceded, I inquire, secondly, whether this power ought to be exercised in the establishment of Territorial Governments where Slavery did not previously exist.

of Territorial Governments where Slavery did not previously exist.

In the discussion of this proposition, I desire
to probe the subject to the core. I prefer to brush
away the surface rubbish, and to lay the foundations of the superstructure on the solid rock.

1. Is Slavery right? Is it in accordance with
the principles of natural justice? The time has
been, when very few in the country defended the
moral right of one man to hold another in perpetual
bondage. Its continuance hitherto has been
defended by citing the difficulties that surrounded
the question of emancipation. But the passage defended by citing the difficulties that surrounded the question of emancipation. But the passage of the Kausas-Nebraska law has wrought a sad change, I fear, in the moral tone and temper of this discussion. Members of Congress now tell you that the enslavement of the African race by the Anglo-Saxon is no evil; that it is a blessing; that it is the natural condition of the two races; that an enlightened philanthropy requires the enslavement of the African; that he belongs to an inferior race: that he cannot endure the shock of enslavement of the African; that he belongs to an inferior race; that he cannot endure the shock of

inferior race; that he cannot endure the shock of contact with his superiors; that annihilation or servitude is the only alternative.

As the African is presented to my mind by the traveller and the historian, and by my personal observation, I am compelled to admit the inferiority; but, if the right of the Anglo-Saxon to enslave him depends on his manifest inferiority, it becomes the duty of every Senator to examine closly the nature of that inferiority. Is it the result of the enslavement of his ancestry for more than a thousand years, or is it a natural, specific than a thousand years, or is it a natural, specific difference, developed in an analysis of the ele laws of matter and of mind?

In laying the foundations of new States, this In laying the foundations of new States, this problem is worthy of the careful attention of the proudest and wisest statesman on the floor of the American Senate; for in its solution he legislates, by its influence, for the whole human race—not only for the one thousand millions of people that now live, but for these teeming millions, as they shall continue to come and go while time shall

That each may arrive at a correct decision of the nature of the admitted inferiority of the African
to the Anglo-Saxon, I request Senators to allow
me to refer them to their early elementary reading—to a succinct view of this subject, derived from standard writers on physical, mental, and moral science—from such works as are used in colleges, academies, and seminaries of learning, all over the country—such works as are placed in the hands of the student of law, of medicine, and of theology.

Physiologists tell us that there is no specific

difference in the physical structure of the two races; that the solid parts of their bodies are constituted of the same number of bones and joints, similarly located and distributed; that there is not a muscle, or tendon, or ligament, or vein, or artery, or secretion, or absorbent, or nerve of motion or of volition, found in the or-ganism of one, that does not exist in the other; that each possesses the same senses of sight, of touch, of taste, of smelling, and of hearing; that each possesses the same specific means of masti-cation, digestion, and procreation. There are, how-ever physical differences. The skin of one is black—of the other, white; the hair of one, fine and knotted—of the other, coarse and straight; the lips of the one, thick and protruding—of the other, thin and compressed; and the perspira-tory exhalations of the one are said to be more odorous than of the other. But these are all said to be but superficial modifications of the same

and Anglo-Saxon alike experience pleasure in the mastication of food, in the inhalation of fra-grant odors, in the exercise of the sense of touch, in gazing at the beauties of creation, and in listen-ing to the melody and harmony of sounds; that he same sounds, and colors, and motions, and the same sounds, and colors, and motions, and heights, and depths, and expanses, and manifestations of power, that elevate the feelings of one to a key of grandeur or sublimity, overwhelm the other with kindred emotions. They tell us that in each they find the same specific desires, instincts, appetites, and passions; that each may love and hone, and fear, and hate—may be enlove, and hope, and tear, and nate—may be envious, jealous, and revengeful; that in each they discover the faculty of perception, of conception, of memory, of imagination, of belief, and of will; that each experiences paternal, fraternal, and filial affection : that each experiences emotions of

iumanity, of patriotism, and of piety.

From this physical and mental analysis, it will be perceived that each organ may be weaker in one race than in the other; but if at in other respects they do not materially differ. The anatomy of the one is the anatomy of the other; the mental science that describes the laws of mind of the one, delineates the spiritual nature of the other; the moral philosophy that analyzes the culture applicable to the one, are applicable to the other. The same physician that prescribes for the African slave in his hovel, on a bed of straw, prescribes with equal success for his mas-ter, in a stately mansion, on a couch of down. The same minister of righteousness who soothes the sorrows and assuages the griefs and energizes the hopes of the slave, when the shadows of death hover around him, administers with equal success the consolations of the same Gospel to

the man of whiter skin. The manifest inferiority of the African to the Anglo-Saxon does not consist in a generic or specific difference. It is that kind of inferiority which, doubtless, the enlightened statesman would expect to find among the descendants of those who had been doomed to absolute servitude, from time immemorial. His body is less tites, passions, instincts, and desires, less man-ageable; his perceptions less acute; his concepions, less clear; his memory. consciousness, be-lief, powers of reasoning and will, more feeble; his love of parents, of offspring, of man, of coun-try, of truth, of honor, of justice, and of God, less reliable. But is any one of these absent? If so, what element of manhood has been omitted?

None: not one! But if "he is inferior to the white man" in this sense—if his body is weak, his mind feeble, his moral sen ibilities obtuse—does that confer the right on the man of strong body, of vigorous intellect, and of acute moral sensibilities, to seize, verawe, and enslave him? Is it might that determines the right? Because you have the power, may you of right enslave your fellow-men? Is this the voice of Northern gallantry and of South-

ern chivalry? It might do for Louis Napoleon, as he sits on a usurped throne, to claim the right, because he has the power, to control the destinies of other men. It might do for Alexander, the Czar of Russia, as he sits enthroned where the old Wizard of the North spirited away the liberties of Europe,

approve.

Then, if my argument is conclusive as an abstraction, it is equally conclusive when applied to the practical question of the introduction of Slavery into all the Territories of this Union where it has not previously existed. If the oppression of the weak by the strong is wrong in the first organization of civil society, and should be prohibited by law, it should be prohibited in Kansas, in Nebraska, in Utah, and in New Mexico, as it was prohibited in the Northwest Territory, and as it is now prohibited in Minnesota and Oregon. It should be prohibited wherever you go to lay the foundations of a State—to build up a new republic.

republic.

There is an apology for the existence of Slavery in the old thirteen States. When they were severed from Great Britain, they inherited the institution of Slavery. You found it pre-existing in the Territories of Louisiana and the Floridas. You acquired it with Texas, in her reception into the Union. But it was not acquired with Utah and New Mexico. And, in 1854, it had no practical existence north of 36° 30' in any of your Territories. In the great unoccupied Northwest. Territories. In the great unoccupied Northwes this institution was no part of your inheritance There it can have no existence, unless planted and sustained by the strong arm of this Government. I will close this point of the discussion by quoting an opinion of Hon. John McLean, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. When interrogated on this subject, this learned intrict said: "Without the sanction of law, Slavery can no

"Without the sanction of law, Slavery can no more exist?" Territory than a man can breathe without air. Slaves are not property, where they are not made so by municipal law. The Legislature of a Territory can exercise no power which is not conferred on it by act of Congress." If Congress has power to prohibit Slavery in all of her Territories, if natural justice requires its prohibition wherever the question is unembarrassed by its pre-existence under local legislation, it should be prohibited in Kansas without delay. There are imperative reasons for the immediate action of Congress, growing out of the peculiar circumstances of its introduction and protection in that Territory. In its introduction, violence has attended it at every step—the right to the peaceful exercise of the elective franchise has been violently overthrown—freedom of speech and of the press has been ingloriously trampled under foot—legislation has become a mockery—the towns of Kansas have been besieged by belligerent armies—her plains have been stained by the blood of her murdered citizens—the widows' wail and the orphans' moan over slaughtered husbands and fathers have driven the Goddess of

husbands and fathers have driven the Goddess of Liberty from her temples, while the armies of the United States are compelling her freemen to lick the dust at the feet of usurpers. It was introduced by violence, and is sustained by force. Nor has Congress any assurance that this war is ended. The people of Missouri are secretly marshalling their forces for the conflict. They have resolved to continue Slavery in the Territory by force. The shadow of the arm of the General Government may be used for this purpose; but Government may be used for this purpose; but the propelling power is in Western Missouri. ople there seem to be laboring under the The people there seem to be laboring under the strange delusion, that the safety of their slaves would be greatly endangered by the re-establishment of Freedom in Kansas, rot reflecting that Iowa bounds her on the north by an open line. No Chinese wall separates these sister States. The people of both States live by each other in peace and quiet. No fears seem to be entertained that the people of Iowa will steat their slaves. But a strange infatuation seems to have seized them in regard to the people of Kansas; as if the more direct route to Canada were by the Rocky Mountains.

same field of strife. Shall Congress sit idly here, and await the result of the shock of arms—if, indeed, that shall happen—until a fraction of the people of this great nation shall settle a great question of State policy, on the battle-field, in human gore? It is useless to denounce the peo-ple of Kansas as traitors to the Union, for dis-carding the spurious laws of a spurious Legisla-ture. It will be vain to attempt to produce peace and quiet by compelling freemen to submit to and quiet, by compelling freemen to submit to laws which they never sanctioned. The will of a freeman will not so easily bend.

But Congress can settle these disturbances in a single day, either by suffering Kansas to become a State, in pursuance of "the true intent and meaning" of the organic act that conferred on the people "the right to regulate their own institutions in their own way," or by amending this organic act so as to exclude Slavery from the Territory. And I fear it can be settled peacefully in no other mode; for it is now clear, that if the citizens of Kansas should finally succeed if the citizens of Kansas should finally succeed in triumphing over all opposing influences—force, fraud, perjury, spurious legislation, and I fear I may safely add, the influence of this Administration—and exclude Slavery by a direct vote, they have no assurance of peace and quiet; for the same statesmen that deny the power of Congress to exclude Slavery from the Territories, also deny the power of the Territorial Legislature to exclude this species of property. They tell us that such legislation by Congress and by Territorial Legislatures is alike unconstitutional and void; that slaveholders have the right to take their slaves into any and all of the Territories their slaves into any and all of the Territories purchased by the common blood and treasure; that the Constitution guaranties this right, and that all laws excluding them are in bad faith. Hence this "squatter sovereignty" doctrine which declares that "the people of a Territor, shall be left free to regulate their own institutions in their own way, is a fraud on the free States

in their own way, is a raud on the free States. When properly understood, it means that the people may establish Slavery in the Territories if they choose, and that they shall be compelled to do so if they refuse! Nothing more—nothing less. It has been introduced into Kansas by force, and is now defended by the armies of this Government. And the country is distinctly notified, that if this defence of Slavery in the Territories should be discontinued, that the Union of these States shall be dissolved. The honorable Senator from South Carolina The honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. BUTLER]—justly admired for his great talents, and venerated for his candor and integrity—a few days since, in a very able speech then delivered on this subject on the floor of the Senate, made the impressive and startling declaration, "That he wished to be understood—he did not speak reselve his words were senated. "That he wished to be understood—he did not 'speak rashly—his words were measured—but 'unless the equality of the States could be pre- 'served in Territorial legislation, he would advise 'the people of South Carolina to go out of the 'Union." This may not be the exact wording of the Senator's proposition, but it does no violence to the sense. He said "deliberately," (and called the Senate to note the deliberation)—"with measured words"—"that unless the equality of the States could be preserved in Territorial legislation, he would advise the people of South Carolina to go out of the Union."

Carolina to go out of the Union."

The character of that "equality" which mus right; that it follows American citizens wherever they may go within the jurisdiction of the United States; that the right of self-government, held as citizens of a State, is carried by the people to the Territories; that it is never lost; that to take it away is an act of despotism.

But this does not change the conclusion. It matters not whence the power is derived—whether from Congress or from nature; whether from the Government of the United States or from Jenovah!

Does the power to make all needful laws exist in the Territory? Is it absolutely vested in the people of Kansas? You say in the Kansas-Nebraska act that it is thus vested; and being so vested, that it is thus vested; and being so vested, that it is thus vested in the feathers of the Republic, and defend the weak against the aggression of the resolute and powerful. It will not do to deny the privilege of Freedom to all who are your inferiors in physical, mental, and moral strength. Adopt the Moral who are your inferiors in physical, mental, and moral strength. But if the general controlled, they shall freely and of their own will legislate for themselves to every extent altowed by the Constitution, while they shall be to find the value of the controlled, they shall freely and of their own will legislate for themselves to every extent altowed by the Constitution, while they shall be the controlled. The controlled of the States, to prevent a dissocution of the Union by the Southern States, is more elaborately expressed by the honorable Sendotrine of tyrants, discarded by our fathers—to place this country, in the eyes of the civilized nations, on the platform of the despots of the Clud of the American Senate to endorse and defend this doctrine of tyrants, discarded by our fathers—to place this country, in the eyes of the civilized nations, on the platform of the Clud of the American Senate to endorse and defend this doctrine of the March and the Country, in the eyes of the civilized the country, in the eyes of the civilized the country, in the eyes will legislate for themselves to every extent allowed by the Constitution, while they have a
'Territorial Government; and when they shall be
in a condition to come into the Union, and may
desire it, that they shall come into the Union
with whatever republican Constitution they may
prefer and adopt for themselves; that in the exercise of these rights they shall be protected against insurrection from within, and invasion from without. The rights are accorded to them without any reference to the result, and will be maintained, in my opinion, by the South and the North."

and the North."
Again:
"I know that many gentlemen with whom I have otherwise heard, in western Missouri, General Atchison among them, asked for nothing more. They simply demand that the actual settlers who go to that country shall have a fair opportunity to establish those domestic institutions which they may think proper. General Atchison took this ground in the Senate. I am

to hold, the scales of justice even and unshaken. We still tell all the joint orners of this public domain to enter and enjoy it, both in the North and the South, with property of every sort; exercise the full powers of American freemen; legislate for yourselves to any and every extent, and upon any and every subject allowed by our common Constitution: the Federal Government will protect you against all who attempt to disturb you in the exercise of these invaluable rights; and when you have become powerful turb you in the exercise of these invaluable rights; and when you have become powerful and strong enough to bear the burdens, and desire it, we will admit you into the family of soverelegas, without reference to your opinions and your action upon African Slavery. Decide that question for yourselves, and we will sustain your decision, because it is your right to make it. This is the policy of the Kansas bill; it wrongs no man-ne section of our compress.

country."
But this is the pleasant spicing to an unpleasant dish. It is a kind of sophistry which deceives by its apparent fairness, and which is so finely expressed as to create a desire to leave its beauty unmarred. But how is its logic affected by the following, from the honorable Senator's Boston speech?

"The constitutional construction of this point by the South works no wrong to any portion of the Republic, to no sound rules of construction, and promotes the declared purposes of the Constitution. We simply propose that the common and promotes the declared purposes of the Constitution. We simply propose that the common and territories be left open to the common enjoyment of all the people of the United States, that they shall be protected in their persons and property by the Federal Government until its authority is superseded by a State Constitution; and then we propose that the character of the domestic institutions of the new State be determined by the freemen thereof. This is justtice—this is constitutional equality."

Here, sir, what I have shown to be true, as a logical sequence from the denial of power in logical sequence from the denial of power in Congress to exclude Slavery from the Territories, is distinctly avowed. The honorable Senator from Georgia [Mr. Toombs] declares this to be

"We still tell all the jointervaled, the both in the lic domain to enter and enjoy it, both in the North and in the South, with property of every "That unawed and uncontrolled, they shall freely, and of their own will, legislate for themselves to every extent allowed by the Con-STITUTION, while they have a Territorial Govern-

But the "construction" of their "constitution But the "construction" of their "constitutional" powers "by the South," he tells us, is:
"That the common Territories be left open to the
common enjoyment of all the people of the United
States," "with their property of every sort;" that
this property shall be protected "by the Federal
Government, until its authority is superseded by
a state Constitution;" and that then, not before,
"the domestic institutions of the new State may
be determined by the freemen thereof." Yes,
sir, this is "the equality of the States," which,
we are gravely told by able Southern Senators,
"in measured words." that must be preserved in in measured words," that must be preserved in the national Territories, if you would perpetuate the Union. You must continue Slavery in all the Territories, and protect it by the strong arm of the Federal Government as long as these Territorial Governments continue, or the honorable Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] will dvise the people of that State to dissolve the Inion.

From this we may readily infer why those who

have resolved to make Kansas a slave State will resist her admission into the Union until her population shall have reached ninety-three thousand. Slavery is to be continued by force as long as the Territorial Government lasts; but when that is superseded by a State Government, her people are to have the gracious privilege of determining for themselves the character of their domestic titutions! This is a feature of "self-govern ment" for Kansas, which the people of the North and of the West have not hitherto fully under-stood. They supposed their free sons, though poor in worldly wealth, might go to Kansas with stood. They supposed their free sons, though poor in worldly wealth, might go to Kansas with nothing but hard hands, with strong arms, with sane minds, and with honest hearts, and by their own votes settle the question of Slavery at once the sourcessor of the sovereigns from whom they were procured, of which she cannot direct herself until she transfers this sovereignty to Styles. sane minds, and with honest hearts, and by their own votes settle the question of Slavery at once and forever. But in this they were grievously deceived. The equality claimed by Southern States requires that Slavery shall continue, and receive the protection of the strong arm of the Federal Government, in all the common Territories, until superseded by State Governments; that to be but superficial modifications of the same specific faculties and functions. No specific organ has been omitted or added.

We are told, by writers on mental science, that the natural sensibilities are aroused in both by States are marshilling opposing armies for the helding companies of the same states are marshilling opposing armies for the helding companies during a modifications of the same states are marshilling opposing armies for the helding companies during the first own domestic institutions in their own domestic instituti nodest demand sounds to my ear very much like as dispuionists, as Black Republicans, and as traitors to the Government, who discard such a construction of the great charter of Freedom—the Constitution of the United States.

Sir, it is apparent to the least observant, that if you establish Slavery in Kansas, and defend it

with the armies of the nation, as you are now doing, until her population shall reach ninety-three thousand, it will have become so firmly established, and so deeply rooted and interwoven with the rame-work of society, as to render its removal a practical impossibility; as much so as it now is in Missouri, Kentucky, or Louisiana, Slavery has never been removed from any one of the new States admitted into the Union.

Mr. President, this "equality of States" in the Territories, which permits and defends Slavery in all of the Territories, crumbles under a careful analysis, as readily as the doctrine of "squatter analysis, as readily as the doctrine of "squatter sovereignty." The doctrine, "that the beople of 'all the States may enjoy the commar Territo'ries, with their property of every sort, as a band 'of brothers, until their pupilage is terminated by 'a State Government, and that then they may 'frame such institutions as they desire," seems so plausible in fact, and so beautiful in theory. as to almost palsy the tongue and bewilder the brain of him who disputes its truth. Nothing was even more false, that seemed so fair. The establishment and continuance of Slavery in the Territories not only predetermines the question for the future States, but it violates the very equality which it pretends to foster and protect. The millions of hardy laborers of the North and Northwest will not live in a slaveholding community. I need not answer "why?" A thousand reasons are on their tongues. To you it may seem to be the result of a sickly sentimentalism. To them their conclusions seem to be the alism. To them their conclusions seem to be the result of the clearest reasoning, sustained by the strongest sense of moral duty. If, then, you establish Slavery in the Territories, you exclude them from the enjoyment of this common heritage. The thousands and tens of thousands of men and women of the free North who migrate to the West are laborers. Many of them go to your new West are laborers. Many of them go to your new Territories with no capital except industrious habits, strong arms, generous hearts, and lofty purposes. They go to form new communities and a new society, where labor is honorable; where he who is too proud to work is discarded; where he who refuses, by his own toil, to add something to the solid capital of the country, is disgraced; where the industrious, the vigilant, and the frugal, are honored and promoted; where, in time, nearly all live in their own houses, cultivate their own soil, and run their own machinery. They live on a common platform of equality, because live on a common platform of equality, all are willing to labor for a living. So will never so degrade themselves as to labor in the fields, side by side, with Southern slaves.

Establish Slavery in the common Terri Ratablish Slavery in the common Territories, and you exclude the working men of the North; prohibit Slavery in the Territories, and you exclude slaveholders. Which is the greater "inequality?" The white population of the United States was reported by the officers of the Government in 1850 at about twenty millions; the number of slaveholders, at less than one quarter of a million. If this be true, the enactment of laws excluding Slavery from the Territories would deprive less than a quarter of a million of the citizens of the country of the right to hold a species of property there, which nineteen mila species of property there, which nine lions seven hundred and fifty thousand lions seven hundred and fifty thousand of their fellow-countrymen discard. Nineteen and three fourths millions of the people of the United States may still go to Kansas with their "property of every kind." The quarter of a million may go on equal terms. To make room for the slaves of the one quarter of a million, you are required to exclude the free millions of the North; for, by establishing Slavery in the Territories, you practically exclude free laborgrs, who are too proud to become the companions of slaves. Is this right? Is it just? Is that constitutional equality?

of the United States, that from childhood I have been taught to labor. The sweat of my brow has been my only capital. I have been required to fulfill the edict pronounced by the Almighty, in the original formation of the human family. On a platform of equality, I have never been disposed to shrink from an honorable competition with the most favored in life's ever-recurring conflicts; but, sir, I never will, by act or vote of mine

place myself in a condition to struggle for posi-tion in social life with those whose slaves are the companions of my daily toils. If I would not thus stultify myself, I will not thus wrong my child. I would be equally pleased to see him com-

pete, in the school-room, at the black-board in the lecture-room, on the rostrum, in the field, or in the shop, with the son of the Southerner as well as the son of the Northerner. But sir, I never could feel a father's pride in witnessing his struggles for position in the polite circle, while I had, by rote of mine, made him the orangenion of slaves at his daily labor. Rather has see him reduced to a practical inequality of the kind, I would prefer to see his eyes plucked on and given to the eagles, and his heart snatched out and given to the eagles, and his heart snatched out and given to the vultures. Place him on a platform of equality—let him labor in the same sphere, with the same chances of success and promotion—let the contest be exactly equal between him and others; and if, in the conflict of mine will I give him an unequal battle. If I could not thus wrong my own child, I will not, as a Seator representing in part one of the States of the Union, by any official act of mine, either excluded her free citizers from the enjoyment of our content of the restrictives, or place them in a content.

pete, in the school-room, at the black-boar

Union, by any official act of mine, either excluded her free citizens from the enjoyment of our common Territories, or place them in companionship with the field-hands of Southern planters.

It is this claim of Southern statesmen to the use of all the Territories for slaveholding communities, that is upheaving the elements of society, and dissolving old parties, North and West. The crof Black Republicanism, nor the threat to dissolve the Union, will stay the swelling wave. The crof Abolitionism will be equally impotent.

"Abolitionist," with its original meaning, was exceedingly odious in the North and West, as well as South. When it meant an officious intermeddling of the people of one State with the identity. logical sequence from the denial of power in Congress to exclude Slavery from the Territories, is distinctly avowed. The honorable Senator from Georgia [Mr. Toomss] declares this to be "the constitutional construction of this point by the South." He says:

"We still tell all the joint-owners of this public." in 1840, by attempting to repeat the outrage, never acted with such a party; I never consult never acted with such a party; I never consulate them, advised with them, nor voted for them, I have always defended the right of the people of the Southern States "to regulate their own demestic institutions in their own way." But, sir, I claim an equal right for the people of the whole country, by their representatives in Congress, to regulate the domestic institutions of all the Territories belonging to the United States. This is constitutional equality, as I understand it. Le constitutional equality, as I understand it. Let each State control its own domestic affairs, within its own jurisdiction; and let Congress control the domestic affairs of the nation, wherever her so-ereignty is unrestricted by an existing State Gor-ernment. And I shall not be deterred from the defence of this position by the cry of Abolitica-

And now, Mr. President, I conclude these despltory remarks by recapitulating the argument conclude that the Congress of the United State has power to prohibit Slavery in the Territoris of the United States—

1. Because Congress has exercised this power.

by declaratory acts following the acquisition of the Northwest Territory, the Louisiana Territor, the State of Texas, and Oregon.

2. Because Congress has prohibited Slavery in the organization of Territorial Governments, and in the admission of States formed out of all ten-tory where Slavery did not previously exist, en-bracing all that vast country north of the Ohio river and 36° 30′ of north latitude, extending

from the eastern line of Ohio to the Pacific Ocean

embracing a period of time commencing with 1787, and reaching to 1850.

3. Because there is not on record, in all the adjudication of all the courts of the country, State and National, extending from the foundation of the Government to the present moment, single adverse decision.

4. Because, in the acquisition of the Territorie

the fathers of the Republic, demands it
2. Because the supposed or real intriority of
the African race increases instead of diminished the obligations of civil society to protect him from the oppression of the strong and poverful.

3. Because equality among the people of all the States requires it: the permission of Slavery in States requires it: the permission of Slavery in the Territories practically acluding an over-whelming majority of the American people from

their occupancy.

4. Because the peace and quiet of the Territories regardes that this, and all great questions of State, should be settled by the supreme legisla-

to be the only means for restoring to the peopl of Kansas the rights of freemen, of which the

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